The Nation.

April 4, 1981 $1

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EDITORIAL

BOER-ING WITHIN

Jeane Kirkpatrick is about as good a liar as she is a diplomat. First she didn't meet any South Africans at all. Then they weren't *high-ranking* South Africans. Then they were, but she didn't know it while she was actually talking to them. Most laughable of all is the claim that Lieut. Gen. P. W. Van der Westhuizen has such a common name ("like Smith or Jones in the Pretoria telephone book," said the State Department) that one could meet him and not realize that he was head of a fearsome military intelligence organization. It so happens that several leading members of the South African Government are called Botha, which is a very common name indeed. Think of the possible future alibis.

None of this is really funny. In a month's time the United Nations has to consider whether to impose sanctions against South Africa for its unlawful occupation of Namibia. Meanwhile, the Administration favors a repeal of the Clark Amendment, slipping the leash which has restrained covert action in the region so far. Many of Ronald Reagan's close advisers favor a move to support Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, a wholly-owned subsidiary of the South African system which makes mythic claims about its actual and potential support inside Angola. (Savimbi's first name was recently given as "Jonah" in *The New Republic*, which was both felicitous and nearer the mark.)

The issue is relatively simple. Which side will the United States be on in the battle against white supremacy? To go with Savimbi and the South Africans is to declare for apartheid, to declare for the illegal occupation of Namibia and the equally illegal invasion of Angola. It is to undo all the good work achieved by the Zimbabwe settlement. How fitting that a policy so lacking in merit should be marked so early by buffoonery and deceit.

BOURGEOIS BLUES
Christopher Hitchens

TROUBLED UTILITIES
John Emshwiller

TOXIC TIME BOMBS
Charles Piller

CRISIS ECONOMICS
Alfred J. Watkins

TOM HAYDEN'S AMERICAN FUTURE
Michael Harrington

'GORKY PARK'
Robert Lekachman

POOR LITTLE RICH NATION

OPEN LETTER TO SAUDI ARABIA

HAYYAN IBN BAYYAN

After an absence of two years, I visited Saudi Arabia a few months ago; it was agonizing. I saw a society full of contradictions. I saw a society with a sense of deprivation in the midst of material abundance, an overwhelmed people with no sense of control over their own destiny. The sudden influx of money and foreigners is unhinging a traditional, xenophobic culture. The result is a nation on the brink of collective neurosis, while an oblivious government resolutely insists that all is well and offers doctored statistics chronicling ever-rising national wealth. This is a government that is eager for an economic "trickle-down" while stubbornly resisting its political counterpart, more democracy. The ingredients for disaster are present; the precedent of Iran is relevant. Only immediate reforms can thwart future turmoil.

Despite the current importance of Saudi Arabia, most of the literature on the country falls into one of two categories—the apologetic and the ignorant. The apologists, whether Saudis or otherwise, are resolute in reassuring us about the country's stability, its highly qualified ruling elite and the adaptability of its people to changing circumstances. The other school, particularly the media, provides us with an unlimited stream of the absurd and the exotic, portraying stern, cruel justice (*Death of a Princess*), on one hand and the Bedouin as Noble Savage on the other. "Buzz" words are substituted for reasoned judgments. "Informed" observers stud their analyses with knowing references to the "majlis" and the "accessibility of the rulers." They owlishly proclaim

(Continued on Page 400)

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LETTERS.

MAKING PUBLIC RECORDS PUBLIC

Washington, D.C.

In his article about the reporters' lawsuit for access to Justice Department criminal history files ["Criminal Records—Off the Record," *The Nation*, Feb. 21], Aryeh Neier raises the specter of otherwise blameless citizens being stigmatized by publication of arrest records for trivial and irrelevant offenses.

As the reporter who initiated the action, I would suggest that the real issue is whether the Government should be allowed to suppress what are in fact *public* records of *public* judicial proceedings. The specific issue in the lawsuit, which Neier neglected to mention, was the Justice Department's refusal to say whether businessmen getting millions of dollars in Government contracts through a corrupt Congressman had criminal records. The businessmen in question had been cited by the Pennsylvania Crime Commission as associates of organized crime. The Justice Department ruled that revealing whether the businessmen had ever been imprisoned, convicted, or indicted would constitute "unwarranted invasion of personal privacy."

The point to be emphasized is that what reporters seek, and the Justice Department denies, are *public* records. Since a reporter frequently has no way of knowing in which court's jurisdiction the records are to be found, the Justice Department policy in effect amounts to suppression of these *public* records.

Under the Justice Department policy, officials once told us, a reporter would be denied the information if he asked whether John Ehrlichman, John Dean or Bob Haldeman had ever been convicted of a Federal crime. Put simply, there is a clear public interest in the criminal history of public figures or of businessmen receiving millions of dollars in Government contracts through association with corrupt Congressmen.

The issue is not reckless publication of the arrest records of juveniles caught with marijuana cigarettes, or of unproven raw allegations from police blotters. The Justice Department policy suppresses information its files contain about imprisonment, convictions and indictments, all matters that are part of public judicial records. The lawsuit seeks no access to confidential protected information comparable to tax records, a comparison Neier draws, but "is limited to matters of public record."

Neier argues the issue is intrusiveness into the private affairs of citizens; I would suggest it is really just another case of unwarranted Government secrecy.

Robert Schakne
CBS News

NEIER REPLIES

New York City

Mr. Schakne doesn't seem to have read the complaint filed in Federal court in his behalf and in behalf of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press. In its first paragraph, it makes clear that its purpose is not merely to disclose records of "arrests, indictments, acquittals, convictions and sentences" of the specific persons about whom Schakne wants information but also to challenge "the policy of the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation" of not disclosing such information generally. Nothing in the complaint suggests any basis for distinguishing between the particular records sought by Schakne and records maintained by the F.B.I. referring to anyone else.

If Schakne would move to amend the complaint so that it no longer refers to "unproven raw allegations from police blotters"—that is, arrest records not resulting in convictions—that would help a great deal. Of course, he might find that this would put him in conflict with his co-plaintiff, the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, which has long sought a right of access to unproven raw allegations.

Finally, it needs to be emphasized that what is at issue here is more than the right of the press to get at unproven raw allegations from police blotters. It is the right of everyone, including employers, employment agencies, landlords and credit bureaus. If the courts were to find that there is a right of access to such allegations, it would not be limited to journalists. This is explicitly recognized in the lawsuit filed by Schakne and the Reporters Committee because it seeks disclosure "to the public and the press."

Aryeh Neier

HENTOFF CONCURS

New York City

Having been duly identified as a member of the Steering Committee of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press in Aryeh Neier's "Criminal Records—Off the Record," I would like to heretically support Neier's point that the First Amendment is not an unlimited license for journalists to rummage through information the government has gathered about private citizens.

Nat Hentoff

REBUTTING "THE SALT SYNDROME"

New York City

Readers of David L. Aasen's article "Coming Distractions" [*The Nation*, Feb. 28], may be interested to know that the Center for Defense Information in Washington has published the Pentagon's rebuttal to the charges made by the American Security Council in *The SALT Syndrome*. As the center says, the "Pentagon's . . . clear rebuttal of the A.S.C. film should help lay to rest the many unsubstantiated allegations of U.S. military weakness." I highly recommend this issue of *The Defense Monitor* (Vol. IX, No. 8) to anyone interested in setting the record straight. Write the Center for Defense Information, 122 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Patricia Leake
The New Manhattan Project

RED SQUAD DISTINCTION

Chicago

The lawsuits against the Michigan and Detroit Red Squads have contributed profoundly to the ongoing struggle against government repression. However, it is inaccurate to claim that the Michigan plaintiffs are receiving "the most uncensored investigative reports in recent history" [Jim Jacobs and Richard Soble, "A Blow Against the Red Squads," *The Nation*, Feb. 14].

As noted in the article, the Michigan State Police are permitted to make three distinct types of deletions prior to releasing their files. In contrast, our lawsuit in Chicago has gained access to all Chicago Red Squad files without any deletions of any sort, including even the names of informers.

Any readers of *The Nation* who wish to receive totally undeleted copies of their Chicago Red Squad files should write me at Room 690, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605. There is no fee.

Richard M. Gutman

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CONTENTS.

Volume 232, Number 13

COVER
Editorial: Boer-ing Within
Poor Little Rich Nation:
Open Letter to Saudi Arabia — *Hayyan ibn Bayyan*

LETTERS
386

EDITORIALS
387 Cabinet Crisis
388 Symbolic Defeat
388 Corporate Domain
389 A-Bomb Almanac — *Sidney Lens*
390 *Dispatches* — *Elizabeth Farnsworth/Stephen Talbot*
392 *Christopher Hitchens*

ARTICLES
393 High Cost of Kilowatts:
The Trouble with Utilities — *John Emshwiller*
395 Caveat Worker:
Toxic Time Bombs in the Factory — *Charles Piller*
398 Crisis Economics:
The Supply-Side Blueprint
For Reaction — *Alfred J. Watkins*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
405 Hayden: The American Future — *Michael Harrington*
406 Smith: Gorky Park — *Robert Lekachman*
407 Dowling, ed.: The Techno/Peasant
Survival Manual — *Christopher Hitchens*
409 Leach: True Love and
Perfect Union — *Thomas DePietro*
410 Tears (poem) — *Josephine Jacobsen*
411 Theater — *Stephen Harvey*
412 Films — *Robert Hatch*

Drawings by Frances Jetter

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The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish

Advertising Manager, Emily Bailen; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Assistant to Publisher,* Laurie Lipper; *Circulation Manager,* Suzanne Oviaitte; *Classified,* Susan Wanklyn; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Jack Berkowitz; *Circulation Consultant,* Deborah Begel.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1981 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $30; two years, $50; six months, $15. Add $5 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $7 other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. **Please allow 5-7 weeks for all subscription transactions.**

EDITORIALS.

Cabinet Crisis

Why doesn't President Reagan go all the way and set up a Department of Crisis, complete with Cabinet-level secretary? There would be plenty for such a department to do in the Reagan Administration.

When the Secretary of State's lunge for the coveted chairmanship of the White House "crisis management" group was thwarted by Reagan's naming his Throttlebottom to the post, a long step was taken toward the institutionalization of crisis in this Administration. The Reaganauts have officialized it, as Haig, the loser, might put it. It might make sense now to give it bureaucratic status with a budget number and a T/O.

There is so much comedy in this minidrama of status and clout that it takes a minute to see the serious side of it. This, of course, is that the Administration is acting on the assumption that there will be crises in our international affairs—and that there should be.

What the ambitious Alexander Haig wanted was total control of offshore matters considered urgent enough to bring to the notice of the Great Delegator. Having learned all the tricks of manipulation and power-grabbing at the knees of Nixon and Kissinger during his White House staff days, Haig expected that the new boys there would resist his attempt to make himself "general manager" (his own term for it). They managed to head him off at the pass.

The tactic of the White House operators was to give the Vice President something to do. It will be George Bush, not Al Haig, who manages the crises that will be produced for the President to resolve. Crises there will be, and rather more often than normal now that there is a bureaucratic apparatus to find them and then deal with them. An updating of Parkinson's Law—crises expand to fill the time available

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for their management—would seem to apply here.

The general manager should not feel too put down by his defeat and consequent exclusion from crisis management's top job. After all, who else has more facilities for production of crises than the Secretary of State? He runs a whole factory whose productivity of diplomatic incidents and hot anti-Communist rhetoric can be vastly stepped up. Slamming the garage door on the Soviet Ambassador's fingers and accusing Moscow and Havana of every loathsome evil in the book were just the timid first steps. Haig can, and will, do better than that as time goes by, if he stays on.

A world in crisis, however, can take a small bit of comfort from the fact that in Washington the production of crises has been separated from their marketing, not to say resolution.

Symbolic Defeat

The California Supreme Court recently let stand a lower-court ruling that permitted the Los Angeles Board of Education to scrap its program for busing schoolchildren. The ruling was called "symbolic" because the courts were actually upholding Proposition 1, which forbids California courts to order busing unless the segregated schools resulted from the deliberate actions of state or local officials. In Los Angeles, no such actions were found; the segregation was said to result from "white flight" to the suburbs, leaving a heavily minority inner-city population.

Prior to the passage of Proposition 1, the California Supreme Court was predisposed to order busing to correct school segregation, even when it resulted, as in Los Angeles, from spontaneously formed neighborhood patterns. With recourse to the state courts effectively denied it in desegregation actions, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in California has suffered a setback; its lawyers will appeal to the Federal courts, but their prospects for success are dim. The American Civil Liberties Union, which was a party to the challenge to Proposition 1, also contends that segregated housing patterns in Los Angeles are not innocent of government action but resulted from myriad decisions by local planning commissions, school boards and other bodies.

The A.C.L.U.'s theory is plausible, but it can further be argued that the *absence* of metropolitan area school desegregation plans—in which busing is but one tool—encourages white flight. A study by Diana Pearce, published by the Center for National Policy Review of Catholic University, for example, concluded that citywide desegregation plans encourage racially integrated housing and discourage white flight to the suburbs to escape inner-city schools. Moreover, in many cities busing has worked because local officials have cooperated with parents in achieving a peaceful transition, with the beneficial side effect of promoting better race relations—certainly a method preferable to schoolhouse-door stands by politicians, and pitting black parents against white in a power struggle.

Admittedly, there is controversy about busing even among blacks and liberals. But there is a larger trend at work here. As Ira Glasser of the American Civil Liberties Union told *The New York Times*, "I don't think there's a movement against busing. I think there's a movement against integration." As local groups are encouraged to upset local desegregation plans, "anti-busing," which has the imprimatur of the President himself, will become a code word for re-segregation. Groups seeking to overturn present plans or resist further integration will foment new racial tensions or reopen old wounds from past integration struggles.

Budget director David Stockman has already announced that there is no "right" to certain social programs; will it soon follow that there is no right to an equal education? This is certainly the meaning of the proposals in Congress—probably unconstitutional—to forbid busing orders by Federal courts. We hope that the California Supreme Court's decision is not also "symbolic" of a judicial trend toward de-emphasizing civil rights.

Corporate Domain

We have been hearing a lot from the Administration about Enterprise Jobs Zones to save the cities, but what do you call General Motors' ousting of an entire neighborhood of 3,500 people in Detroit? Free Enterprise Profits Zones?

Actually, it was the city of Detroit, not the Administration, that condemned a 400-acre neighborhood because General Motors wanted to build a new $800 million plant there. Motown is hurting, of course, so the city fathers were all ears when G.M. promised that its new factory would create as many as 6,000 jobs. The Federal Government was anxious to help too, with a contribution to the pot; public subsidies for the move will total $320 million.

The extirpation of whole neighborhoods with churches, schools, stores and people's homes for new highways is bad enough. Now a corporation is allowed to do it because of the supposed public benefits that will result from its relocating to what it thinks is a more profitable site. Thus, big corporations in this country can have it both ways. They can move away from a town or city any time they like, without so much as a by your leave to all the workers whose jobs will disappear, and they can move to anywhere they like, even if they kick out 3,500 people in doing it.

The city of Detroit's condemnation action was upheld in the Michigan Supreme Court with only two dissents. The warning of one of those dissenters, Judge John Fitzgerald, is worth repeating:

> Now that we have authorized local legislative bodies to decide that a different commercial or industrial use of property will produce greater public benefits than its present use, no homeowner's, merchant's or manufacturer's property, however productive or valuable to its owner, is immune from condemnation for the benefit of other private interests that will put it to a "higher" use.

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A-Bomb Almanac

Note: There is nothing new in the figures and facts listed below. They have simply been assembled for handy reference. All are from "reliable" sources, mostly the U.S. Government.

§ The United States has 9,200 strategic nuclear warheads (on missiles, submarines, or bombers capable of hitting the Soviet Union from the United States or the seas), and 22,000 short-range tactical nuclear warheads, making a total of more than 31,000. In addition, the United States is producing three new nuclear warheads a day.

§ The firepower of these warheads is equivalent to 8 billion tons of TNT; or to put it another way, 600,000 atom bombs like the one that fell on Hiroshima (it was a 13-kiloton bomb, with an explosive force equal to 13,000 tons of TNT). The Hiroshima bomb killed 142,000 people. The one on Nagasaki killed 75,000—about half the casualties of Hiroshima, because it fell some distance off target.

§ The Soviet Union has 6,000 strategic warheads and 12,000 to 15,000 tactical warheads.

§ How many people would be killed in a nuclear attack by all or most of these warheads? It is hard to tell because there are so many variable factors: how many warheads are used, how accurate they are (if a warhead is made twice as accurate, its lethality—kill capability—is increased eight times), whether they are exploded at ground level (in which case radiation is maximized but fire is minimized), or in the air (in which case fire is maximized), and which way the wind is blowing and at what speed.

§ The National Security Council estimated a couple of years ago that "at a minimum" 140 million Americans would die in a strategic nuclear war and 113 million in the Soviet Union. In addition, there would be millions injured and three-quarters of the economies of each country would be destroyed. The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency puts the figure of American dead at 105 million to 130 million, Soviet fatalities at 80 million to 95 million.

According to scientist Bernard T. Feld, editor in chief of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, a major Soviet attack against missiles, air bases and other military facilities—a so-called "limited war"—would contaminate five million square miles with radioactivity. This is an area equal to the entire United States. If there were 100 million survivors in "so-called shelters," he says, they couldn't survive for long. To summarize: "Neither we nor they could survive such a holocaust. And if it happened, there is grave question as to what would happen to the rest of the world as a consequence of our folly."

§ Compare possible losses in World War III with those of previous wars. Combined American deaths during the Civil War, the two world wars, Korea and Vietnam were a million troops. In World Wars I and II and the 1918-20 civil war, the Soviet Union lost a total of 31,700,000 people. The number of dead for all belligerents in World War I was 9.8 million, and for World War II 52 million. These figures were for wars that lasted four to six years. By contrast a nuclear World War III would exact most of its toll within a few hours or days.

§ There have been at least fifteen occasions that we know of in which the United States came close to nuclear war: five times by accident when Pentagon technicians misread radar, seven times when Washington contemplated limited nuclear war (three times during the Vietnam War, once each as a result of the war in Korea, the fighting in Laos, the Quemoy-Matsu dispute, the Berlin crisis), and three times in direct confrontations with the Soviet Union (a 1946 forty-eight-hour ultimatum by Harry Truman to the Russians concerning Azerbaijan, the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis and the 1973 Yom Kippur War).

§ In addition, the American missile warning system falsely reported 151 indications of a Soviet attack in the eighteen months prior to October 1980 alone. Four of them resulted in orders to strategic forces to increase their state of alert—that is, prepare for retaliation.

§ There are six nations that admit having nuclear weapons today. By 1987, according to the Energy Research and Development Administration, thirty more will have the plutonium and know-how to make such bombs. According to former President Ford the number will be forty by 1985. A hundred will have that capability by the year 2000.

§ The Hiroshima bomb destroyed an area of three square miles. A Minuteman II missile would destroy an area of seventy-two square miles, a Minuteman III missile with Mark 12-A warheads would destroy an area of eighty-eight square miles and the MX missile with Mark 12-A warheads would destroy an area of 234 square miles (slightly larger than Chicago, almost twice as large as Philadelphia).

§ The United States has forty-one nuclear submarines, ten of the older Polaris class and thirty-one Poseidons. The Polaris carries sixteen missiles with one to three warheads apiece. The Poseidon carries sixteen missiles each with nine to fourteen warheads, each one three times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb. One or two Poseidon subs, which are pretty much invulnerable to attack at this time, could destroy most or all of the 218 Soviet cities with a population of 100,000 or more.

§ Nuclear bombs are quite cheap—when you consider kill-costs per person. A 20-kiloton bomb, somewhat more potent than the Hiroshima bomb and capable of killing at least 100,000 people in a medium-sized city, cost $380,000, according to Atomic Energy Commission figures some years ago. For another $100,000, according to *Science News* (July 8, 1967), the A. E. C. could produce a fusion bomb of 200 kilotons (200,000 tons of TNT equivalent) and for still another $120,000 a 2-megaton bomb (equal to 2 million tons of TNT). The costs are probably double or triple today, but quite cheap considering what the Pentagon calls "damage" potential.

SIDNEY LENS

Sidney Lens is a contributing editor of The Progressive. *His latest book, an autobiography, is titled* Unrepentant Radical *(Beacon).*

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DISPATCHES.

■ PENTAGON: M*A*S*H*, 1981

Preparations for foreign wars begin at home, and there are myriad details to be attended to. An obvious one is preparing for casualties. We can report that in this area the Pentagon is moving out smartly. In a document sent to hospital administrators in several states, the Department of Defense seeks to reserve thousands of hospital beds in cities around the country "to medically support a future major conflict outside the United States."

The forty-one page document, entitled *In Combat, In the Community: Saving Lives Together*, a copy of which was obtained by "Dispatches," warns that because of "technical advances in weaponry and the great mobility of armies today, a future large-scale war overseas will probably begin and end very rapidly and produce casualties at a higher rate than any war in history." The military planners anticipate that such a large "patient load" of battlefield casualties "would very quickly exceed the capabilities of both the V.A. [Veterans Administration] and military [medical care] systems." The document states that it is not "logical"—i.e., not politically expedient or financially possible—for the Department of Defense "to build, equip, and staff hospitals to full wartime levels now for future conflict."

The solution, according to the Pentagon, is the Civilian-Military Contingency Hospital System (C.M.C.H.S.). Under this program, hospital administrators will be asked to reserve a minimum of fifty beds, along with a full medical staff, intensive care unit and blood bank, for immediate use in the event of a major war abroad. To launch "Phase I" of C.M.C.H.S., planners have selected eighteen military hospitals around the country. Civilian hospitals located nearby are being asked by the Pentagon to volunteer to join the C.M.C.H.S. program. If a hospital signs up, it will be required to participate in annual joint medical emergency exercises with the military. As an incentive, the Pentagon promises that the "types and severity of injuries and illnesses which are anticipated from the combat zone will present a challenge to your hospital staff." In a profile of 100 typical war-injured patients, the Pentagon says hospitals can look forward to an array of gaping wounds and fractures, eleven burn cases, one case of "gas gangrene," two amputations, four cases of neuroses and two of psychoses and, in today's nonsexist army, one normal pregnancy.

The document, which was presented recently to San Francisco hospital officials, discusses the possibility of a major U.S.-Soviet war, but incredibly assumes "there would not be an attack on the United States homeland." The military planners say "if this assumption is incorrect," then the Federal Emergency Management Agency will get involved. There are apparently some contingencies that the Pentagon must pass the buck on—notably, nuclear war.

■ NAMIBIA: A Devil's Bargain

The famous "Bushmen" of southern Africa have been enlisted by the South African military to oppose the independence movement in Namibia. More properly known as the San, the Bushmen are desert nomads whose losing battles against the encroachment of white settlers have reduced their numbers to 50,000. They were first recruited as mercenaries in 1972 because of their skills in hunting and traversing the desert. In 1974 the South African Government—always eager to promote divisions among Africans—formed a segregated "Bushmen Battalion 202," and today there are an estimated 3,000 San in the South African Army.

The sleazy, Colorado-based, mercenary cultist's magazine, *Soldier of Fortune*, published an article last year praising the "Bushmen mercenaries" for having an excellent "kill-ratio" against SWAPO, Namibia's liberation forces. Recently, the South African command has been showing off its San base, Omega, in the Caprivi Strip along the Namibia-Angola border to visiting journalists. The base houses about 850 Bushmen soldiers, who are paid roughly $400 per month, and their wives and children. According to *The Christian Science Monitor*, a South African Army chaplain "is busily converting them" to the Dutch Reformed Church.

The South Africans admit that the Bushmen soldiers are regarded as traitors by the majority of Namibians and Angolans. "They are being ground to death in the South African war machine," says U.S. anthropologist Richard Lee, who has lived among the San. Like the Meos who were recruited by the Green Berets to fight the North Vietnamese, the San lured into the South African Army have made a devil's bargain that could end their existence as a people.

■ CHILE: Dangerous Climate

At the time the State Department was telling us that the "human-rights climate" in Chile had improved, Edgardo Oñate Parra was undergoing five days of torture by Chile's secret police. A U.S. resident who had returned to his Chilean hometown in December to visit his aging parents, Oñate was arrested by the police on February 23, just three days after the U.S. State Department lifted the economic and military sanctions imposed on Chile in the aftermath of the murders in Washington, D.C., of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt. The State Department said that it was time to "accord Chile equitable and evenhanded treatment."

Edgardo Oñate's story suggests that Chile's human-rights climate is as harsh as ever. Arrested in the little town of Tomé, south of Santiago, Oñate was charged with "carrying subversive pamphlets" and taken to a house he believes was on or near the Talcuahuano naval base near Concepción. He was tortured almost continuously for three days and nights with beatings and electric shock. "At one point the pain was so intense I stopped breathing," Oñate said, "but they didn't want to kill me, and I was revived by mouth-to-mouth resuscitation."

Eventually, Oñate's tormentors accused him of being a courier for the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (M.I.R.). Oñate said the police planted pamphlets and secret documents in his suitcase. "It was really my brother, a leader of the M.I.R., they wanted," he said. "They kept

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ELIZABETH FARNSWORTH AND STEPHEN TALBOT

asking me about him. I didn't even know what town he was in."

After four days, Oñate was "sentenced" extrajudicially to three months of "internal exile" in Los Loros, a town of 250 people in the northern mining area near Copiapó. Flown to Los Loros in a plane belonging to the Chilean equivalent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he found himself alone in the middle of a strange town with no money, no identifying documents, no warm clothing and nowhere to stay. After three days, during which he begged for food and wandered about, Oñate was again arrested. But this time the police treated him with great courtesy. He was flown to Santiago and then expelled from the country. The only hint of an explanation for his sudden change of status came when one of his captors asked, "How did you get so famous?"

Apparently, Oñate was freed because of an international campaign launched from California, where his wife, Jane Rasmussen, an attorney for the State of California, and infant son live. The San Francisco Archdiocese's Commission on Social Justice, Amnesty International and other groups helped Rasmussen generate a campaign aimed at saving Oñate's life and at getting the U.S. Embassy in Santiago to intervene on his behalf. "We may never know what did it," says Rasmussen, "but on March 3, Ambassador George Landau called to say Edgardo was on his way." Oñate says he feels lucky to be alive. Since November of last year, Chile's torturers have killed three of their victims. Amnesty International reports hundreds of arbitrary arrests since last summer and says torture in Chile is "still routine."

■ JAPAN: "China Fever"

American businessmen were edged out of the big industrial development projects in China by their aggressive Japanese competitors, but the latter are now regretting the billions they have staked on the China card. While the American contracts are for the most part still active, Japan stands to lose millions now that China is "reorienting" its economic priorities and canceling major foreign contracts.

Japanese businessmen were hit by "China fever" in the mid-1970s, signing huge contracts for projects in China and ignoring skeptics who warned that China would never be able to pay the bills. Three years ago, China and Japan signed a long-term agreement that envisioned $20 billion in trade between the two nations over an eight-year period. China was to supply crude oil and coal to Japan in return for exports of steel, industrial plants and technology. Nippon Steel, Mitsui Petrochemical and other huge Japanese firms signed billion-dollar contracts with the Chinese Government to build steel mills, petrochemical plants and other enterprises as part of Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping's drive to modernize China's economy.

Now, many of those mills and plants stand half-completed. In February, the Chinese Government unilaterally canceled several of its largest contracts with Japanese firms. Construction at four major projects, including the huge Baoshan steel mill near Shanghai, was halted. Japanese Government officials told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* that the Japanese stake in these contracts amounts to about $1.5 billion and that possible losses on equipment and plant already delivered could total about $640 million.

The Chinese have promised compensation, but Japanese leaders doubt their ability to pay, since the amount of compensation involved is about equal to China's total foreign exchange holdings at present. Meanwhile, China is continuing to request low-interest loans from Tokyo, which leaves the Japanese Government on the horns of a dilemma. The trading firms are bitter and want compensation, but Government officials recognize that applying too much pressure on the Chinese could damage the Chinese-Japanese relationship, which Tokyo considers of highest importance. Negotiations are under way, but meanwhile Japanese businessmen have temporarily shelved dreams of seeking their fortunes in the Middle Kingdom.

■ WESTERN EUROPE: Arms Sales Bonanza

The United States and the Soviet Union, which have long dominated the world arms trade, are facing competition. The two superpowers still control about 75 percent of a rapidly expanding $600 billion market, with the heaviest concentration of their sales in Third World nations. But now the Western European countries, especially France and West Germany, are aggressively promoting arms exports to the Middle East, Africa and Latin America.

France, the world's third largest weapons dealer, sold more than $5 billion worth of military hardware last year. The French arms merchants have prospered from the fierce arms race in the Middle East. Recently, they beat out several bigger U.S. weapons manufacturers to close a $3.4 billion deal that will provide Saudi Arabia with an "instant navy."

In France, there has been surprisingly little criticism of the booming arms trade. But in West Germany, the surge in the munitions trade with the Third World has touched off a major political debate. West Germany now ranks fifth among world arms exporters, and last year seventy-one of its eighty customers were Third World nations. Bonn's most controversial arms deals include the sale of two submarines to the Pinochet regime in Chile and the proposed sale to Saudi Arabia of 300 Leopard-II tanks for $7.7 million each.

While France, West Germany and Britain lead the resurgence in Western European arms sales, the smaller nations are also profiting. Mercantile Belgium specializes in "gray area" arms sales, offering easy export licenses for questionable or politically controversial weapons deals. Last year Belgium sold $500 million worth of small arms. Even peaceable Sweden is not immune from the European arms sale bonanza. Swedish arms exports jumped to $500 million last year, and the country's leading arms manufacturer, Bofors, is lobbying for a relaxation of Sweden's export restrictions. Bofors' RBS-70 laser-guided antiaircraft guns have turned up in Bahrain and Dubai, despite a Swedish Government ban on arms sales to the Middle East.

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CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS.

Bourgeois Blues

P. G. Wodehouse once depicted an American magnate whose chest, after a lifetime of business lunches, "had slipped down to the mezzanine floor." This effect, analogous in form and shape to what some call the Laffer Curve, is not the worst in the current repertory of bourgeois blues. The weekend before last in Philadelphia a conference of middling to fat cats, distinguished representatives of the new business ascendancy, was convened. Their task: to determine whether American capital can be born again. Their pretext: the coincidence of a new Republican business administration with the centenary of the Wharton School of Business Administration. Their problem: how to trim other people's fat. I sucked in my paunch, packed a hasty overnight bag of English skepticism and reserve, and tooled along.

One always takes too little luggage on long weekends. I found the whole event dominated by a contrived question which was, unless I missed something, the feasibility of "supply-side" economics. There is no firm agreement on what this construct really signifies. Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan cited the Kennedy-Johnson tax cuts as a precedent for his policy (they were Keynesian demand-side, surely?) and claimed that 60 percent of the next load of tax advantage would go straight into savings. This was too optimistic for most of the operators present. But, rising above this practical difficulty, Regan came up with a new formulation, one which I think we'll hear more of, and which ought really to be called Bright-Side Economics. His words were these: "We now have an economic plan that rejects the mistakes of the past in favor of a bold, innovative new philosophy . . . an integrated plan for long-term improvement."

Later on, Regan denied that there could be any such thing as economic planning, and said that those who called the policy "innovative" were mistaken because it rested on tried and ancient principles. These contradictions in his uplift message were not widely discerned. The only thing one can report with confidence about Regan is that he exhibits a certain *froideur* (nerves? limelight hang-ups?) at the mention of the name David Stockman. (As for the supply-side enigma, I finally ran it down at a lunch table full of large men as bemused as myself. "Look Chris," said one of them from somewhere below the Mason-Dixon line, "if you wanna fuck you're on demand side. If you *get* fucked you're on supply. Like mortgager and mortgagee. Get it?" I got it.)

The conference room was humid with self-regard, stuffed with consoling images of the national pie, loud with talk of "crunch" and "clout" (crunch and clout who? I wondered foolishly). But behind all the cracker-barrel business philosophy, several "hidden hands" were at work, unsettling the general complacency. There was the hidden hand of Margaret Thatcher, often referred to in tones of guarded respect. Some of the bad news about Britain's near-collapse has obviously filtered over. There was the hidden hand of Japanese automobile expertise; Irving Kristol termed it "bad luck, most of all" that had left American industry without a fuel-efficient car in 1979. I had never heard Kristol speak before. He's fluent that way, appearing to be tough-minded and critical while in fact dispensing bland reassurance to people less intelligent than himself. There was the hidden hand of protectionism; everybody present was a free trader "with an open mind on protection." There was the hidden hand of realism; Lane Kirkland made them sit up briefly by talking of the liberating effect of Federal programs, and ultraconservative economist Charls Walker called for a new Federal agency to handle city and corporate bankruptcy. The audience looked as if a cigar had exploded in its collective face.

And there was Henry Kissinger. Almost everybody wanted to enthuse over such a spokesman for renewed American potency. Yet that, too, was somehow forced and unsatisfying. Stripped of the rich, thick pelt of power, he doesn't look like much. Bronzed and fat, I'd say, with a taste for his own jokes and a strong addiction to other people's nervous laughter. I forgot to ask him what he charged.

Foreign policy was the other hidden hand—the overlay to all forms of corporate *angst*. Reginald Jones, chairman and chief executive of General Electric, gave us a good example. The only way to deal with Russians, he averred, is from a position of strength. Why, some years ago, G.E. was doing a deal with the Russians on air conditioners "and they tried to Jew us down on the price." (A peculiar expression I hadn't heard for some years.) Well, we hung tight and they backed off—or something like that. There was a mild ripple at his choice of phrase, but nobody wanted to make anything of it: Jones, after all, has known the President since Reagan's days as a G.E. promotion artiste. Still, and taste apart, I nominate "Jewing" as a Badverb, comparable to the "credentialing" I underwent upon arrival.

Vignettes from the meeting lodge in the memory. Reliance Insurance, co-sponsor, gave me a replica plaque upon departure. The accompanying citation told me that "larger versions of these cast-iron symbols of insurance protection assured free-lance fire brigades that the building's owner stood ready to pay for fire-fighting services." Outside, the streets of Philadelphia were clotted by a transport strike. The filthy, overcrowded and tardy train that had borne me there was one of the many utilities written off as "unsavable" by keynote speakers—on the return journey I thought of this with a fierce but momentary joy. The barmen at all the receptions were unsmiling and wore their large union buttons in a marked manner. The Moral Majority was absent from this chiefly preppy gathering, but we still got Michael Novak, Fellow in Religion and Public Affairs at the American Enterprise Institute, lamenting the fact that no leading theologians were pro-capitalist. To hear them all talk, you would think that America had been obsessed with redistribution for decades. Donald Regan claimed that "this President, this Administration, means business." Whether business means them is a question not yet finally decided.

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ARTICLES.

HIGH COST OF KILOWATTS

The Trouble With Utilities

JOHN EMSHWILLER

We now have an administration in Washington that declares it will solve the nation's energy problems by significantly increasing energy production. There is a certain logic to that course. There is even a touch of patriotism—at least if one believes that the American credo simply is "More!" But the troubles plaguing one of the country's primary energy industries suggest the proposed cure may only compound the disease.

Electric utilities grew up as true believers in the philosophy of strength through expansion, and with good reason. Their own experience taught them that improvements in electric-generating technology and economies of scale from ever-larger power plants steadily reduced the cost of producing one kilowatt-hour. Some utilities went for decades without raising electric rates. Higher profits came through continuously rising demand, spurred on by an industry campaign to electrify the nation with free light bulbs and all-electric kitchens.

Today, though, the utilities have discovered that the philosophy that once brought them prosperity is impoverishing them. As a result, the industry faces the gravest crisis in its history. The financial position of utilities is atrocious. The average company no longer generates enough cash earnings to pay its common stock dividend and must tap other sources, including the sale of more stock which further worsens the cash problem. Utilities are desperately searching for money. Increasing amounts are coming from the pocketbooks of consumers. Electric rates rose by a record $8 billion last year, yet that amount didn't come close to satisfying the industry's voracious appetite for cash. Consequently, utilities have been borrowing tens of billions of dollars and will need even greater amounts in the years ahead. There is growing fear that one or more major companies could slip into bankruptcy.

What went wrong? The simple answer is that the world of energy changed drastically and the utility industry, like the nation, failed to keep pace. In recent years, the costs of building new power plants and supplying them with fuel have been accelerating at dizzying rates. In the face of sharply higher energy prices, the growth in energy demand has collapsed. For years, the utility industry could depend on electrical demand growing at about 7 percent a year. In 1980 it rose by a mere 1 percent.

John Emshwiller is a New York-based writer who specializes in energy issues.

Despite the convulsions of recent years, leaders of the utility industry still cling to the notion that national prosperity means ever-higher energy demand and that, in turn, means building more power plants, whatever the consequences. Construction spending by the electric utility industry approaches $30 billion a year.

But there may just be another way, one that involves a radical redefinition of a utility's role. There is mounting evidence that the best investment a utility can make is in *discouraging* demand for electricity. Large-scale conservation programs offer the opportunity to reduce demand at a fraction of the cost of building the new power plants needed to meet steadily growing consumption. The utility, its customers and the nation would all benefit from such a course.

Numerous obstacles have held back the utility industry from fully exploring the conservation alternative. One is simply prejudice. There is still the widely held belief that utilities, as one General Electric Company vice president puts it, "have only one purpose: to supply electricity." Perhaps more important, utilities are still deeply mired in one of the most expensive and ambitious technological ventures in history: generating electricity from nuclear power.

For much of the current plight of the utilities has its origin in the industry's quarter-century affair with the atom. Nuclear power was touted as the engine that would extend forever the era of cheap, plentiful energy. As a further inducement to utilities, the Federal Government generously subsidized nuclear research and development. Congress even passed legislation that limited a utility's financial liability in the event of an accident to a small fraction of the potential cost of such an event. A recent study for the U.S. Energy Department estimates that the Government has provided subsidies totaling about $37 billion to the nuclear industry over the past three decades. And the utility industry took the bait. Today, roughly two-thirds of the nation's 100 biggest electric utilities are involved in one or more nuclear projects. There are more than seventy nuclear plants in operation and about eighty under construction.

Some unpleasant problems popped up on the utility industry's road to nuclear nirvana, though. The plants aren't as safe or reliable to operate as had been expected. And building nuclear facilities costs much more and takes far longer than had been anticipated.

To comprehend the dangers of operating a reactor, one only need look at General Public Utilities Corporation, a utility that has played an unexpectedly large role in the history of commercial nuclear power. In the early 1960s, G.P.U. reached a nuclear landmark with an order for a 650,000-kilowatt nuclear plant at Oyster Creek, New Jersey. This was the first nuclear plant large enough to compete economically with fossil-fuel generating stations. G.P.U. liked its Oyster Creek operation so much it built a second nuclear station at a place called Three Mile Island.

The accident at Three Mile Island in early 1979 transformed G.P.U. from a financially robust company into a

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basket case. Indeed, despite all the fears for public health from the accident, the most important and lasting impact of the disaster may be what it did to the financial health of that utility. G.P.U. shareholders have seen the total value of their stock dive by more than $750 million since the accident. Bills of G.P.U. customers have risen by as much as 50 percent to help pay for replacement electric power. And G.P.U. faces the prospect of spending at least $1 billion to clean up the damaged reactor. Without a large-scale Federal bail-out, the company will probably go bankrupt.

The accident's financial fallout has enveloped nuclear power in a dark cloud that will not go away. Since they do not really know what to do with the problem, some nuclear-power advocates simply pretend that it doesn't exist. Utility executives whisper that the accident happened because G.P.U. was incompetent and add that such an event wouldn't happen at *their* nuclear plants. They ignore evidence produced by investigations into the accident which showed that G.P.U.'s operators were of at least average competence by industry standards. Nuclear supporters also argue that a G.P.U. bankruptcy shouldn't reflect adversely on the quality of other nuclear utilities as investments since the accident made G.P.U. a special case. On the contrary, the lesson of the accident at T.M.I. was that this kind of calamity could befall any utility running a nuclear plant.

If operating a nuclear plant can sink a company quickly, building one can slowly strangle a firm. Though it has always been known that because of safety considerations, nuclear plants would be relatively expensive to build, nobody dreamed just how expensive. Early nuclear plants were completed at a cost equivalent to a few hundred dollars for each kilowatt of generating capacity. A plant under construction today can cost roughly $2,000 for each kilowatt of generating capacity, and cost estimates continue to rise without any end in sight. For some utilities the size of their investment in nuclear construction is roughly equal to the value of all their other assets. The creations are threatening to consume their creators.

Problems caused by the capital-intensive nature of nuclear projects are worsened by a fundamental principle of utility regulation. Most state commissions don't allow a utility to earn a cash return from a plant until it is in operation on the theory that customers shouldn't pay for a facility they aren't using. In the early days of commercial nuclear power, when the costs of building plants and borrowing money were relatively low, this situation wasn't much of a problem for utilities. Now it is a brutal burden. Consumers Power Company, for instance, has been working on its problem-plagued Midland, Michigan, nuclear project for over a decade and is still three years away from completion. Currently, the utility has $1.6 billion tied up in a nonproducing investment, and must pour in another $1.5 billion to finish the project.

The woes besetting nuclear power are so severe and complex that they appear insoluble. Many of the problems are related to deficiencies in the technology itself and the people who run it. As a result, nuclear power is dying in this country. Longtime supporters are turning their backs on atomic energy. Major investors, such as pension funds and insurance companies, have begun quietly paring back their holdings in utilities with large nuclear commitments. While utility executives say they still prefer nuclear power, their companies simply can't afford it. A new nuclear plant hasn't been ordered in the United States for more than two years, and since 1975, fifty earlier orders have been canceled.

The advent of the Reagan Administration with its emphatically pro-nuclear rhetoric has revived hope among nuclear advocates that the atom still has a future. The industry's shopping list of requests is long and will likely grow. Ironically, many of these requests would require that an Administration supposedly committed to shrinking the

DRAWINGS BY FRANCES JETTER

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Federal budget adopt major new spending programs. Billions of dollars of additional money would be thrown into nuclear projects, including development of the breeder reactor and the cleanup of Three Mile Island.

Unfortunately, such efforts will divert attention from conservation at a time when a wide range of economically attractive opportunities for improving energy efficiency are opening up. For instance, a recently obtained draft study done by the Federal Solar Energy Research Institute concluded that by following an energy strategy emphasizing economically justified conservation measures, the United States could by the year 2000 be using nearly 25 percent less energy than today and also be vastly more prosperous. The study also said that renewable resources, such as the sun and wind, could supply up to 30 percent of energy requirements at the end of the century. While such a strategy would require expending hundreds of billions of dollars, the study calculated that the cost of supplying energy in 1980 alone totaled $360 billion in the United States. Some of the bolder low-energy forecasters believe the nation could within a few decades eliminate the need for any nuclear or fossil-fuel plants and meet electric-power needs solely from such sources as hydroelectric, wind and solar power.

And some utilities have begun pursuing conservation. Along with a giant nuclear commitment, the Tennessee Valley Authority, for example, is embarked on a program to reduce projected demand over the next decade by about 1 million kilowatts, the equivalent of one big nuclear plant, through insulating homes and installing solar and wood-fired heating units. The program is expected to cost $214 million, or the equivalent of about $200 a kilowatt.

Generally, though, the industry seems still to believe that conservation is fine as long as it isn't overdone. As the chairman of Florida Power & Light Company told an energy industry meeting last year: "We cannot conserve ourselves into prosperity." At many utilities, conservation spending totals a few hundred thousand dollars, mostly on advertising. In some cases, conservation efforts are so small and fragmented that precise budget figures aren't even kept. "It wouldn't knock your eyeballs out," said a Commonwealth Edison Company spokesman when he was asked for and was unable to give a spending figure for the company's conservation work. The Chicago-based utility's building plans, however, are impressive: six nuclear power plants and $5.7 billion in construction spending over the next five years.

If the Reagan Administration really wanted to help utilities and attack the energy problem it would actively explore ways not to build new power plants. One possibility is to require a full examination of all the alternatives for meeting future electrical needs and then choose what appears to be the least expensive way. Traditionally, utilities have simply decided which type of power plant seemed less expensive. This examination could be aided by a partial deregulation of the utility industry that would allow other firms a greater opportunity to supply people's electrical needs.

Utilities could also be given greater financial incentives for promoting conservation. There appears to be a great potential in a practice whereby utilities act as "bankers," lending money to customers for conservation work and being paid back from the customers' energy savings. Already under way in several states, such plans offer the opportunity for a utility to start earning rapidly on its investment instead of having to wait years to get a power plant built. □

CAVEAT WORKER

Toxic Time Bombs In the Factory

CHARLES PILLER

Last summer, Charles Ringles, 41, a payloader operator who has worked for twenty years at the American Smelting and Refining Company (Asarco) plant in East Helena, Montana, was called into the office of the company environmentalist and told he had high levels of lead in his blood. The cause of this condition was poor personal hygiene, the environmentalist, James Severson, said. He advised Ringles to take calcium tablets.

The effect of this advice, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) charged, was to make some Asarco workers guinea pigs in a highly controversial experiment. As Mary Win-O'Brian, spokeswoman for the United Steelworkers of America (U.S.W.A.), which represents the Montana workers, explained: "Our understanding is that the calcium supplement will somehow reduce blood leads, for example, by the lead being taken up into the bones." In other words, the company may be using the worker's body as a receptacle for industrial pollutants. Instead of cleaning the workplace, Asarco could be hiding toxic substances in the very bones of its employees, where it is extremely difficult to detect.

Ringles was not informed of this. "They just gave me a ninety-day supply of pills and told me to take them," he says. "We didn't know what the heck was going on. They'd take you in the office—just you and the environmentalist. He'd tell you you weren't washing, or that you were a pig. And I know I take care of myself—I have fairly good hygiene." The company, a major lead smelter in the United States, did not seek the written consent of any of the sixty Asarco workers who were given calcium in Montana and at other company plants.

The project, which began in June 1978 and ended in July 1980, was testing a theory that calcium would decrease the absorption of lead in the gastrointestinal tract. Medical proof of that theory is sketchy. According to the protocol for the experiment, obtained by the U.S.W.A., the real benefit sought by the study was saving the company money. "It may be possible to decrease the monitoring frequency of

Charles Piller is a San Francisco-based writer on labor and health issues and a member of the Bay Area Committee on Occupational Safety and Health.

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those persons subject to the new OSHA thirty-day requirements [for high blood-lead levels], remove our employees from the special surveillance list and reduce entirely or reduce the frequency of administrative control in regulatory work areas," the protocol read.

The questions are even more serious and far-reaching when the source of the testing is considered. The medical director of Asarco, who designed the "clinical trial," as he calls the experiment, is Dr. Charles Hine. Hine was involved in a major occupational health scandal two years ago in which workers exposed to the pesticide DBCP became sterile. Hine had done studies between 1952 and 1958 on the effects of DBCP for Shell Oil Company, a manufacturer of the pesticide. The tests found evidence that rats exposed to the substance suffered testicular atrophy, yet neither Shell nor Hine informed workers or responsible agencies. Then, in 1977, researchers discovered that nearly 100 workers who handled the pesticide had become sterile. As a result, extremely strict OSHA and Environmental Protection Agency regulations on the manufacture and use of DBCP were put into effect.

What Hine did is certainly not unique. Dr. Hans Weill, professor of medicine at Tulane University in New Orleans and former president of the American Thoracic Society, apparently uses what Anthony Mazzocchi, director of health and safety for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (O.C.A.W.) calls "the body in the morgue method" of determining industrial toxicity levels.

In one study originally funded by the National Institute on Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), Weill monitored shipyard sandblasters exposed to silica dust. His objective was "to investigate features of accelerated silicosis in *poorly protected* sandblasters which differs significantly from chronic forms of this disease." (Emphasis added.) It should be noted that silicosis is a disease that has been known since it was first discovered by Hippocrates 2,400 years ago. Samples taken by the Weill group showed gross exposures of the subjects of this experiment, with some measurements exceeding the silica standard by a factor of 142.

During this five-year study, which began in 1971, there were workers who died after one-and-a-half years of exposure, prompting Sheldon Samuels of the Industrial Union Department of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. to charge a violation of medical ethics. Said Samuels in an unpublished portion of a letter to *Science* magazine: "Count the bodies, titrate down . . . terminate exposures after the occurrence of predictable (since Hippocrates) disease. . . . [This was] a political, not a medical decision." Weill's study was done with the full cooperation of several shipyards and the Louisiana Department of Health. The latter apparently approved an agreement between the companies and Weill's group that excluded OSHA inspectors from the shipyard during the study, despite high levels of disease.

Dr. William Johnson, then a U.S. Public Health Service officer, contends that he had been told by Dr. Morton Ziskind, a colleague of Weill's, that "assurances of confidentiality had been given the company by the research team." When NIOSH, through Johnson, attempted to stop the experiment by filing a complaint with the Louisiana Department of Health in 1973, its division head, Dr. John Lewis, responded: "[We] hope that a solution can be found protective of the workers without the sacrifice of important industrial operations." Or as Samuels comments in his letter to *Science*, Weill's study represented "the use of taxes to support research of questionable scientific value but unquestionable commercial value to industry."

While moral condemnation can be made of such studies, it may be a mistake to blame individuals. As Mazzocchi comments, "There are institutional imperatives at work. In the final analysis, I can't vent any wrath at the individual doctor. . . . Corporate physicians are required to look after corporate health."

Not only does industry use workers as guinea pigs in testing exposure levels, it also conceals information about hazardous substances. An extreme, though not unique, case is that of vinyl chloride, precursor of a commonly used plastic. In 1972, Italian chemists definitively linked vinyl chloride to cancer in various organs of rats at different concentrations, including fifty parts per million (ppm), a tenth of the then-current OSHA standard.

The American chemical industry's major trade group, the Manufacturing Chemists Association (M.C.A.) was aware of these findings. Yet, when NIOSH requested information from the association on vinyl chloride, it responded with a recommendation that did not mention the substance's toxic effects. It wasn't until eighteen months later, after three B. F. Goodrich plastics workers had died from liver cancer, that the M.C.A. disclosed the Italian study.

When OSHA reduced the vinyl chloride standard to 1 ppm, industry lobbied heavily against it, predicting compliance costs of $90 billion or more and loss of as many as 2.2 million jobs. Ironically, compliance proved to be relatively cheap and easy. In fact, when the standard was fully engineered into the industrial process, it cut product loss and labor costs and ultimately became a profitable investment for many companies. Professor of economics William Tabb of Queens College says that "the technical innovations that result from new standards often save industry money, because they are forced to economize and use the byproducts of a particular process."

Dr. Samuel Epstein, author of *The Politics of Cancer*, charges, "The refusal to identify chemicals in trade name products is an overwhelming example of human experimentation. It's the suppression of critical information that is inherent in the whole industry approach to the issue of occupational hazards."

The *Chemical Materials Accident Control Notebook* of Union Oil's Chicago refinery is an example of this practice. The name itself suggests that the manual's purpose is to control accidents, not protect health. Half of its more than 100 chemicals are listed by trade or code names. This is ostensibly done to protect trade secrets, but the *Notebook* completely excludes chronic effects, such as leukemia caused by benzene, and lists only accute effects. Few specific warning

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signs or symptoms are given. Employees must decide for themselves if they have been overexposed.

The *Notebook* also fails to mention that many of the listed chemicals break down into more dangerous substances under certain conditions. For example, any chlorinated solvent will produce phosgene gas when it comes into contact with a hot surface, as in welding. Phosgene, which causes pulmonary edema—a life-threatening condition in which the lungs fill up with fluid—has a limit for safe exposure of 0.1 ppm. But the gas can be smelled only at concentrations of 1.0 ppm, meaning that the lungs are seared before the worker knows he is inhaling the phosgene.

The National Labor Relations Board recently found that the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company had gone a step further and downgraded manufacturers' warnings on toxic substances used in its Cottage Grove, Minnesota, plant. The company had placed the following label on a drum of dimethyl disulfide: "Avoid inhalation of vapors which will cause temporary headache." In contrast, the manufacturer's label read: "Flammable. Vapor may be hazardous or fatal if inhaled."

Withholding medical records from unions or individual workers is an additional way corporations bypass health standards. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union finds many examples of this among its membership. For example, Amoco Chemicals Corporation employee Louis Kofran, who worked with asbestos at the company's New Castle, Delaware, plant, received three separate X-rays ordered by the company physician, each of which revealed the presence of a lung lesion. Kofran was not told about the lesion and was allowed to work without restriction for two full years until his private physician discovered a tumor. In the words of Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission Judge Benjamin Usher, who presided over the case, "Amoco thoughtlessly squandered Kofran's chances for early detection of cancer." When union physicians later examined several other Amoco employees, they discovered that half of them had asbestosis. Thanks to strong union intervention, the N.L.R.B. fined Amoco heavily, but many union officials, such as O.C.A.W.'s Dr. Linda Rudolph, feel that this is just one case among hundreds that go unnoticed.

Compounding the problems of experimentation and data suppression is the fact that there are safety standards for only a small fraction of industrial chemicals. So rapid is the growth of chemical use that the regulatory bodies can't keep pace. Existing standards of acceptable worker exposure, despite lengthy testing procedures, are continually being reduced as new data come in. Contributing to the need for updating standards is the fact that industry set them in the first place.

The relatively worker-oriented OSHA has been in existence only since 1970. At that time, the vast majority of OSHA's original standards were taken wholesale from the American National Standards Institute (ANSI). ANSI's membership included 100 large corporations, 160 trade associations, six trade unions and a number of government agencies. It had a budget of about $26 million, which was provided almost entirely by its large corporate members. Since the OSHA and NIOSH standard-setting budgets are only a small fraction of ANSI's, they have fallen into a disproportionate reliance on ANSI and other industry-oriented standards groups for facts and recommendations during the rule-making process.

While comprehensive solutions to such massive and complex problems are probably outside the regulatory realm, some recent legislation has begun to attack one basic problem: workers' ignorance of the nature of the chemicals they are handling aside from trade names and meager safety data provided by the company. The lack of detailed health information on the labels makes it difficult for them to know when careful handling is required. Companies have good reason to keep them ignorant; uninformed workers are less likely to make health and safety demands, or question industry experiments in the workplace.

OSHA recently enacted a landmark Access Rule. Under its provisions, workers, their authorized union representatives and doctors have the right to all company medical, air sampling and Material Safety Data Sheet records. Trade unions across the country have hailed the new standard. In February, however, Secretary of Labor Ray Donovan unilaterally withdrew the standard—the result of five years of study—after a request by the Chemical Manufacturers Association. Even in the face of an outraged labor community, the withdrawal could be permanent. Fortunately, almost concurrently with the OSHA action, California and New York have passed the first two "Right to Know" bills. These would complement the new OSHA Access Rule, but they can also stand on their own, by requiring manufacturers and chemical reformulators to provide up-to-date Data Sheets to employers. In New York's bill, the list of substances covered includes the entire NIOSH Registry of Toxic Sub-

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stances—one of the most comprehensive of such lists available. The bills require that workers have access to these Data Sheets and that their employers provide training programs on their meaning and use. The New York law gives workers the right to refuse to work with toxic substances if the information is not provided within a specified time. As a precedent and basis for action, the bills represent a significant step forward.

OSHA's lack of either power or resources for enforcement is notorious, however, so it may be largely up to unions and individual workers to press companies on compliance. In California, Cal/OSHA cannot prevent the sale of substances by manufacturers, even if their Data Sheets are incomplete or inadequate. Farm workers and most pesticides are exempt.

Ellen Widess, Cal/OSHA Pesticide Division chief, fears "the looming question of informed consent." She says, "It could be a defense for future manufacturer/employer liability: does knowledge imply acceptance of risk or real choice?" In addition, both bills contain huge trade secret exemptions.

Even so, the significance of state or even municipal Right to Know legislation is particularly great as Reagan Administration deregulation takes hold on the Federal level. Notes Peg Seminario of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Health and Safety Department: "In the next few years it will be more difficult to push through such regulations as the OSHA Access Rule. . . . But the manufacturers will then have to face different statutes in the states."

Some unions are taking access questions a step further. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union is now fighting Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing at the highest level of the N.L.R.B. for data on worker health and safety—information that had been a condition of their collective-bargaining agreement. In effect, they are testing the concept of health and safety as an integral part of collective bargaining, and the consequent right of access by unions to all such information. Most unions are worried about the many attacks on OSHA, and so this case has taken on great importance.

In the meantime, "experiments" of many kinds will continue, perhaps for some time. Says Anthony Mazzocchi, "Only when we move to total worker control over industrial hygiene and medical capability will that situation change." □

FORUM ON EL SALVADOR

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CRISIS ECONOMICS

The Supply-Side Blueprint for Reaction

ALFRED J. WATKINS

While on the campaign trail, candidate Ronald Reagan presented his supply-side program for reindustrialization as a free lunch: no one would pay, everyone would benefit. He denied vehemently that his program would require any spending cuts other than "waste and fat." The Government need only cut taxes and thus stimulate the supply of goods and services, Reagan declared. Then domestic investment and productivity would increase; inflation would diminish while industrial efficiency rose; American corporations would regain their lost markets, and unemployed workers would find jobs in a rejuvenated private sector.

After George Bush described Reagan's campaign proposals as "voodoo economics," Reagan countered that the Laffer Curve would guarantee the promised free lunch. On the basis of Prof. Arthur Laffer's hypothesis, Reagan claimed that his proposed three-year, 30 percent reduction in personal income tax rates would generate the work, investment and savings required to revitalize American industry. With the economy operating at a higher level, Reagan claimed, tax revenues would rise even though tax rates were lower; social welfare programs thus could be retained while the deficit and inflation declined.

Reagan ignored, at least publicly, the belt-tightening that most reindustrialization proponents said must accompany supply-side policies. And so the current debate centers on the feasibility of Reagan's economic program. Overlooked are its policy goals. Despite Reagan's assertion in his State of the Union Message that government "must not be used to regulate the economy or bring about social change," his supply-side gurus also want spending cuts to bring about social change in a regressive direction.

This commitment to reverse social change was openly stated by Office of Management and Budget director David Stockman and Representative Jack Kemp in their memo "Avoiding a G.O.P. Economic Dunkirk." Stockman and Kemp warned Reagan that the Federal budget was becoming an "automatic coast-to-coast soup line" and emphasized that supply-side economics would not create new economic growth unless tax cuts were coupled with a "severe recision" in Federal spending. Later in the memo, they defined a severe recision as "reducing Federal domestic program levels by $30 billion to $50 billion per annum" for fiscal

Alfred J. Watkins is assistant professor of government at the University of Texas at Austin.

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years 1982-1983 and said that "a waste cutting approach . . . will hardly make a dent in the true fiscal problem."

We now see these ideas bearing fruit in the Administration's new budget; it is here that the bill for Reagan's supply-side free lunch is presented. That tab includes $41.4 billion in cuts in social programs for fiscal 1982 on up to a projected $104.4 billion in fiscal 1984, and $123.8 billion in fiscal 1986, according to a White House fact sheet. A host of education, health and social programs will be scrapped, cut back or transferred to the states in block grants. Although Reagan announced reassuringly that "all those with true need can rest assured that the social safety net of programs they depend on are exempt from any cuts," the net has acquired a number of holes in areas like Medicaid, disability payments, food stamps, CETA jobs, unemployment insurance, trade adjustment assistance payments, social services such as day-care centers and homemaking assistance to the elderly, and certain Social Security benefits. And this is only a beginning.

For the relationship between cutbacks in social services and reindustrialization goes deeper than mere economizing. Sociologist Amitai Etzioni, another luminary in the supply-side firmament, has offered a fuller rationale. He asserts that ever since the late 1950s, the United States has been undermining the economy by making social progress. This social progress first appeared as a "demand for greater social justice (favoring reallocation of resources in favor of the underprivileged poor and minorities) and the call for greater investment in nonproducing social services." This was followed by the "alternate life-style movement," which, he contended, undermined the work ethic and self-discipline; and then finally by the call for "a healthier and safer environment, encompassing not just nature but the workplace and consumer products and services."

Today, according to Etzioni, we can no longer afford to maintain, let alone expand, these programs: "Decades of overconsumption and underinvestment have weakened America's productive capacity." Restoring this capacity, he estimates, will require investments in transportation, energy, research and development, vocational and technical education, and defense totaling nearly $645 billion per year for the next ten years. In view of this prodigious task, "even if government spending were cut back as extensively as 30 percent over three years . . . we still would not have all the resources we need to shore up America's productive capacity." Therefore, Etzioni calls for tax breaks and government subsidies to encourage investment coupled with "a decade of public and private belt-tightening" while "public and private consumption [is] sacrificed."

Despite their bleak prognoses, Etzioni, Stockman and Kemp imply that a pot of gold is waiting at the end of their ten-year austerity plan. Presumably, once the investment problem is solved and the economy begins to grow, we will have the resources to reassemble the soup line and renew our earlier commitment to progressive social change.

There is an even more sinister, although probably more accurate, interpretation of their call for social change. This explanation starts with the assumption, popular in business circles, that stagflation is an economic symptom of more serious social and political crises. Unless these sociopolitical problems are solved in a manner that business finds acceptable, no amount of tinkering with taxes and subsidies will produce additional growth. From this vantage point, Reagan's proposed spending cuts are merely the prelude to an era of even more radical social change that will permit big business and government to wrest concessions from labor and restore a "good domestic business climate."

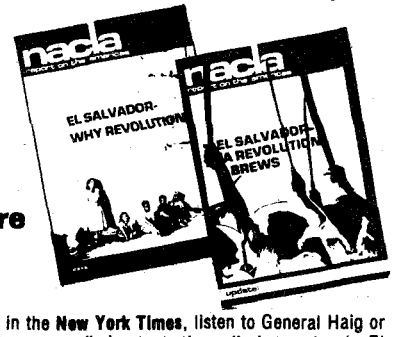
This perspective is outlined most clearly in the report *Towards Full Employment and Price Stability*, prepared for the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development in 1977 by Reagan transition adviser Paul McCracken and seven other prominent economists. At almost every opportunity, McCracken and his colleagues emphasize the social and political roots of stagflation:

> Growth over the next decade or so will be limited not so much by constraints of a physical or technical kind as by the need to overcome the present economic and *social stresses and imbalances* of which inflation is one of the major symptoms. [Emphasis added.]

High on their list of stresses and imbalances are labor's "declining fears of unemployment," "aggressive income bargaining" and "growing confidence in government's ability to insure full employment." Because of these conditions, labor has become too unruly and government is losing the support of business.

For example, social welfare programs like unemployment

"The best chance we have to prevent U.S. intervention in El Salvador is early warning information, full, fast, accurate. The best chance we have for such information is NACLA's Report on the Americas." Ramsey Clark



EL SALVADOR
How Long Before the Bodybags?

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compensation and food stamps, according to the McCracken committee, cushion the economic trauma of layoffs. Since workers are less fearful of unemployment, the threat of the loss of a job no longer serves as an effective disciplinary tool for management. Moreover, growing confidence in government's ability to regulate the economy leads to labor militancy and "a determination not only to maintain a certain money wage level but to maintain a certain real wage level and even a certain rate of growth of real wages." Finally, as labor exerts more political pressure, electoral considerations rather than "responsible" economic calculations produce "increased state intervention and administrative control in economic affairs."

On the basis of these assertions, the McCracken committee argues that the sociopolitical balance of power has shifted in labor's favor. Therefore, restoring full employment with price stability will be impossible unless labor is forced to make concessions and business regains the upper hand. Until this is done, they argue, tax cuts and corporate subsidies will not eradicate stagflation.

Even more recently, Felix Rohatyn, head of New York City's Municipal Assistance Corporation and a senior partner with the investment banking firm Lazard Frères & Company, complains in the December 4, 1980, *New York Review of Books*:

> We live today in a "padded society" for the majority and a "nowhere society" for millions in the urban ghettos. It is a padded society because everywhere one turns one finds padding for security. Cost of living allowances and automatic increases for workers regardless of productivity; constantly increasing unemployment compensation and trade adjusted payments for laid-off auto workers; constantly increasing pensions for retirees.

Rohatyn knows, however, that this padding, which protects workers, the unemployed and retirees from the ravages of inflation, will not be easily eliminated. Workers simply have too much political clout. But Rohatyn believes he has the solution to this impasse. If these groups can be convinced that America faces an economic crisis which threatens the vitality of the entire national economy, then perhaps they will accept social change predicated on austerity:

> Only a major crisis will force the kind of constitutional change advocated by serious students of government today. . . . When a crisis of sufficient magnitude creates the possibility for fundamental change, it will carry with it enough of a popular majority for action so that a President with a real vision of the future will be able to put his program through. This is obviously a risk for democracy as well as a hope.

Although Rohatyn seems content to wait until this crisis gestates, his colleagues in business are doing all they can to induce it. By refusing to invest and modernize American industry unless they receive tax breaks, government subsidies and, most important, labor's acquiescence to lower real wages and fewer social welfare programs, business is creating the crisis that Rohatyn knows is the minimum prerequisite for regressive social change.

Whether or not this blackmail will succeed in tipping the sociopolitical balance of power back in favor of big business remains to be seen. But at this point, one thing is certain—Reagan's reindustrialization program is no coast-to-coast free lunch. □

Open Letter

(Continued From Front Cover)

that "Saudi Arabia is different from Iran," or speak of the "cultural acceptability of corruption" in Saudi Arabia. Very rarely is there a balanced look at the country as it really is: troubled, miscast in its international role as petroleum superpower, a society on a heedless jag, its cohesiveness stretched to the breaking point, suffering the pains of too much, too fast.

The founding of the House of Saud had its origin in the rivalry between the Bedouins—the nomadic tribes—and the Hadar—the sedentary peoples in town and villages—which long dominated Arabian history. The Bedouins, who could not survive economically on herding alone, incessantly raided the villages and towns, while consolidating their rule over the countryside. The Hadar were unable to subdue the Bedouins, except for brief periods, until the beginning of this century, when Abdulaziz Al Saud (Ibn Saud) appeared on the scene and dealt the Bedouins the final defeat.

King Abdulaziz went on to consolidate his new kingdom, supported by the Hadar. The Bedouins were reimbursed out of the national treasury for the loss of revenues from raids, and when oil was discovered they were further pacified by annual subsidies, which were paid to the tribal sheiks, who in turn spread them among their kinsmen. The central Government's monopoly of modern weapons made rebellion by the nomads impossible. In the towns the Hadar enjoyed peace and security, which they gratefully attributed to King Abdulaziz and his family. Nowadays, if one raises the possibility of dispensing with the royal family with a member of the older generation, an icy look is usually the answer, coupled with a warning about the danger of those "bloodthirsty" Bedouins.

Dynastic ties that King Abdulaziz had with the Hadar of Najd (central Arabia), his successful campaign against the nomads and the guarantee of peace and security earned the Saudi family the Hadar's absolute loyalty—at least as long as their memories of nomadic pillaging and raiding were alive. Old fears of insecurity and violence kept the Hadar from rebelling against a Government they regarded as their protector. Oil revenues provided the wherewithal to bribe any other serious opposition. Central authority, the legitimacy of the royal family and domestic tranquillity were firmly established and endure to this day.

In the light of this history, the seizure of the Grand Mosque at Mecca in November 1979 came as a shock. Perhaps the country was not the island of stability it seemed to be. In the aftermath of the affair, it soon became ap-

Hayyan ibn Bayyan is the pseudonym of a citizen of Saudi Arabia.

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parent that the rebellion was an isolated act, and the royal family is still firmly in control.

The most revealing aspect of the incident was the reaction of Saudi Arabians. Most people faulted the rebels only on their choice of target. Fighting in Mecca is strictly forbidden by the Koran. Had their objective been different—a prince's palace, for example—the rebels would have gained more sympathy, although they probably still would have failed.

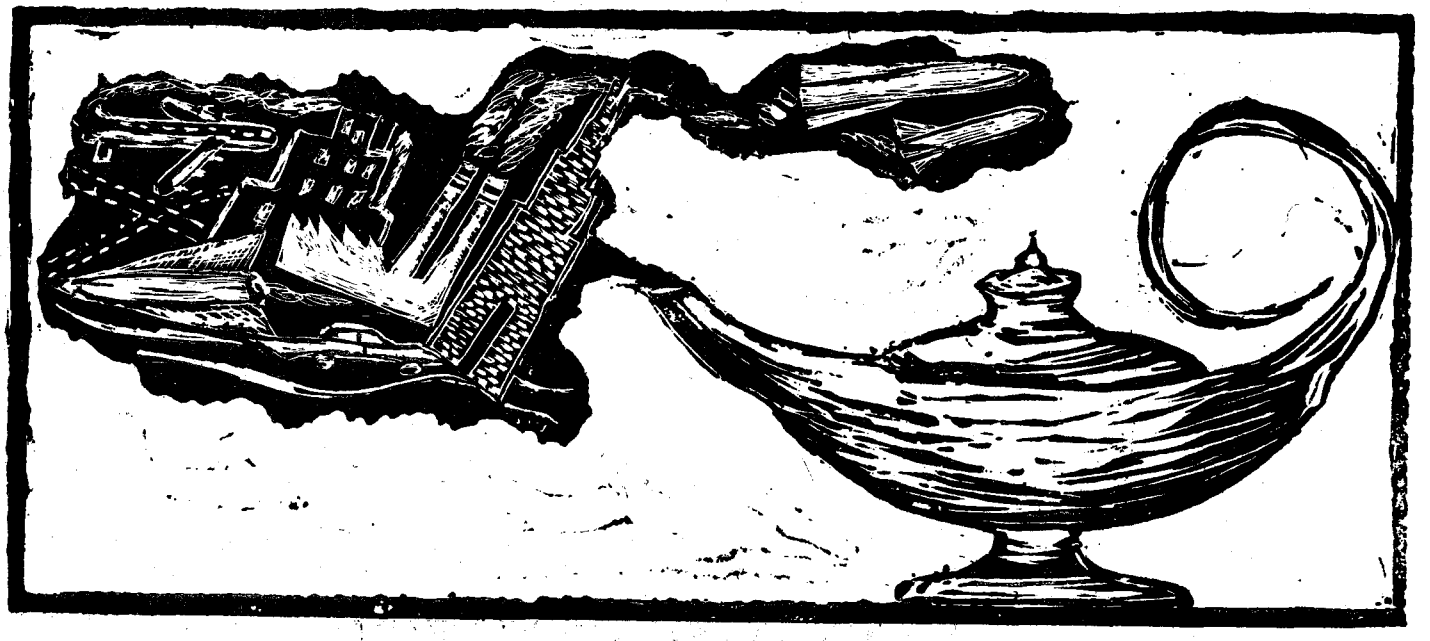
The Mecca incident was a symptom of the social upheaval Saudi Arabia is undergoing. Even though the country is now enjoying relative calm, there are clear signs of an impending storm. The institutions that buttress the state, the society and the economy are crumbling, with the possible exception of the family and religion. The rate of change, furthermore, is so fast that alternative institutional arrangements may well not be developed in time. The injection of huge amounts of money into this deeply traditional country is straining the social fabric, and there is no creative response to the novel problems currently facing the society. Pious declarations of preserving Islam and traditions seem little more than hollow public relations.

Economically, Saudi Arabia enjoys one of the highest growth rates in the world and one of the highest per capita incomes. Economists would like us to believe that this is a good thing, but in Saudi Arabia growth is basically a means for recycling petrodollars; money is spent for the sake of spending. The result is the amassing in a single country of one of the largest concentrations of white elephants in history. Huge airports are being built without actual need; the new airport in Jidda is costing close to $10 billion and will be the largest in the world. This airport, the Saudis proudly inform us, is bigger than Kennedy, La Guardia, Newark, O'Hare and Los Angeles airports combined. Two comparable airports are planned for Riyadh and Dhahran. Another mammoth project for spending petrodollars calls for building "military cities" in different parts of the country. The most recent one, King Khalid Military City at al-Hafr, will cost about $10 billion. The basic fact that Saudi Arabia does not have, or even want, an effective army did not deter the leadership from budgeting $14 billion last year for the military and successfully overspending it. The examples could be multiplied.

The royal family has been able to implement a successful program of income distribution which gives the majority of citizens access to a portion of the national wealth. The fundamental restructuring of the economy is being accomplished with the help of a large foreign labor force, which is in itself a threat to social stability. More than two million foreigners are now living in Saudi Arabia, among a native population that numbers no more than five million. The mix of rapid economic growth and aliens in a xenophobic society is an explosive one. The legendary effectiveness of Islamic justice is being tested as the crime rate goes up. The Government has increasingly resorted to capital punishment, but fear of crime makes many people afraid to stop on desert highways to help stranded motorists. The society is suffering a hangover from a binge of sudden wealth, and anxiety about the future is widespread among many segments of the population.

The possibility of political reform is slim, for the leadership clings all the harder to the old ways. Whenever they are questioned (by an outsider, mind you) about the need for reform, they answer quickly that the Arabian majlis is sufficient. But they use the term in its traditional sense of access to the King and princes by their subjects—rather than a participatory process. Western writers nonetheless are bemused by the majlis and like to refer to it as "desert democracy," or better yet, "social democracy."

One mechanism of political control, and a fairly successful one in the short run, is sedating the people with money. With so much money in the governmental coffers the ruling elite can afford to be lavish, but how long the drug will work is anybody's guess. The sudden availability of money has created economic classes with a consequent loss of traditional Arabian egalitarianism. A new middle class is taking root which eventually may become a formidable foe for the royal family. The role played by the Ira-



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nian middle class in overthrowing the Shah is apropos.

Monarchies are usually brought down by their armies, and examples abound of a revolutionary colonel displacing his king. The Saudi royal family has sought to forestall a military coup by placing princes in sensitive commands. The military was also divided into two competing commands: the armed forces, under the Ministry of Defense, and the National Guard, under an independent leadership. The armed forces comprise the traditional services (air force, navy, army); their mission is to defend the country against outside attack. However, they are deliberately organized to be ineffectual. Most of the defense budget is spent on construction (up to 80 percent), while only a small portion goes to improving fighting capability. Even such deals as the purchase of sixty-two F-15s are largely symbolic. The planes will be stripped of many of their armaments, leaving them mainly to perform flyovers at parades. The Saudis' subsequent request for auxiliary fuel tanks and advanced missiles and bomb racks was another symbolic gesture designed more to test U.S. friendship than to strengthen the country militarily.

The structure of the National Guard is even more interesting. It is basically a paramilitary internal security force. Each unit is composed overwhelmingly of members of the same tribe, stationed away from their native territory. This arrangement is calculated to insure the loyalty of the National Guard and make it a counterweight to the armed forces. By establishing two rival military groups and playing them against each other, the monarchy keeps the military neutralized.

In its policy toward its Middle Eastern neighbors, the Saudi leadership's insecurity is apparent. This policy was dubbed by one observer "riyal politik"—buying off any country, movement, group, or individual that appears to challenge the stability of Saudi Arabia and the monarchy.

A case study of the failure of this policy is provided by the Saudis' dealings with Egypt's President Anwar el-Sadat. The failure of Saudi aid to Egypt to gain his gratitude and pliability, coupled with the negative results of Riyadh's attempts to lure South Yemen into its orbit, illustrate the limits of power, especially financial power.

In its policy toward the Palestine Liberation Organization, Saudi Arabia displays a similar ambivalence. Although the Saudi leadership is genuinely sympathetic to the plight of the Palestinians, they fear even more that they will resort to violence. How this dominant concern translates into policy can be seen in the Saudi attitude toward the Camp David accords. Several influential members of the leadership were more sympathetic to Sadat's efforts than their public statements indicated, but the fear of driving the Palestinians to desperation forced them to side with the nations that signed the Baghdad agreement condemning Egypt.

At home, Saudi Arabia is at a crossroads: its choice is reform or repression. The Saudi leadership has ruled with a light hand so far—at least by Third World standards. The Saudi Government has been able to satisfy the rising economic expectations of the Arabian people and most citizens are guaranteed a minimum level of material well-being. If the 1970s were the decade of major economic decisions, the 1980s will witness acute demands for major political reforms. A growing number of Saudi Arabians are economically secure and have the time, energy and education to reflect on the nation's future course. These rising political expectations must either be accommodated or crushed and the price of repression, the royal family must realize, is very high. Should the House of Saud attempt to thwart the inevitable demands for political reform, the 1980s may witness the "Levantinization" of the country—rule by a brutal minority like those in Syria and Iraq.

As I have pointed out, the House of Saud's reign grew out of its alliance with the Hadar, and the latter's historical fear of the Bedouins. But now, the nomads have either been settled or effectively subdued and the traditional fear no longer exists among the younger generation. While the old people will always answer political questions with the distinctly Arabian expression *al Shayukh abkhas* (the royal family knows best), the younger ones use the same expression sarcastically as an indictment of the House of Saud's monopoly of power.

As traditional Arab egalitarianism rapidly erodes, a new aristocracy has emerged. Not long ago the King or a prince would be addressed as first among equals; today, titles proliferate. The bonds between the royal family and the people look more and more tenuous. The House of Saud is becoming more arrogant, its monopoly on decision making nearly total. Along with the arrogance of power goes endemic corruption. Every prince worth his salt has an "establishment," mainly in the import business, from which he siphons grossly fat "commissions." The royal family's ostentation knows no bounds. A few years ago, a Saudi Arabian Airlines jumbo jet carrying passengers from London to Riyadh was instructed in midair to return to London to pick up a prince who had missed the plane. Outrages like these are common.

The majlis exists as a forum for popular grievances, but its role is circumscribed by custom; it is a product of a simpler time and simpler needs. Its original function was to settle such things as disputes over grazing and water rights and the consummation of raids. With the rise of the modern nation-state in Saudi Arabia, the majlis has become increasingly irrelevant. Any person in the kingdom may still have access to the King and his governors as a matter of right, but the nature of the complaints is limited to the ancient subjects: quarrels over land, blood feuds, financial help and the like. It would be *lèse-majesté* for a citizen to broach the state of the economy, the need for political liberalization or the pervasive corruption among the elite. As these concerns come to the fore, the majlis is revealed as an ineffective mechanism for providing popular participation.

Obviously, there is a need for popular bodies more responsive to contemporary needs. If the royal family fails to implement reforms on its own motion at a time when it can still receive popular credit for them—that is, before an uprising forces its hand—it may prove to be the biggest loser. The possibility of the House of Saud being overthrown by a military *coup d'état* is there, but unlikely,

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because of the dominance exercised by the royal family. A credible opposition will more likely emerge from the civilian population.

Historically, civilian opposition has taken the form of parochial rebellion, e.g., the Shiites in the east. Only the pro-Nasser groups of the 1960s have posed any challenge to the monarchy at the national level, and the threat was minor; and only the rising middle class, the bureaucrats and technocrats seem capable of mounting real opposition today. This group will probably begin by demanding reforms and progress to actively seeking power. That would be a bloody business, for the royal family is most unlikely to hand over the government peacefully.

The only other institution that might play a role in the opposition is the clerical establishment. But in Saudi Arabia, the *ulema* (Islamic scholars) are thoroughly incorporated in the power structure. They have a say in most governmental decisions and are given control over what they consider their turf—the Ministry of Justice and girls' education, for example. They are consulted frequently and their opinions deferred to, and they constitute one of the highest paid groups in the country. In addition (Sunni) Islamic political theory is deferential toward political leaders. Rebellion against even an unjust leader is strongly discouraged. It is therefore doubtful that the *ulema* will become a source of opposition as the Shiite clergy did in Iran. Instead, we may see sporadic uprisings by marginal "fundamentalists." Since everything in Saudi Arabia is done in the name of Islam, for the sake of Islam, it is difficult to distinguish between "fundamentalism" as a real system of beliefs and those using the trappings of Islam for typical political ends.

Any peaceful transition can only be accomplished with the cooperation of the royal family. Should the House of Saud resist the winds of change, the numerical strength of its members and their attachment to the land are such that their forced removal may prove to be too expensive for the country. Parochial loyalties are still simmering beneath the surface, and a showdown with the monarchy will inevitably unleash them. Once sectarian, tribal, regional, dynastic and familial jealousies have been unleashed, they would be hard to contain and all would be losers.

We are left with only one hope for peacefully navigating the turbulent times ahead—incremental reforms inspired by the leadership's enlightened self-interest. These reforms have to embody the symbolic and the substantive, and must set in motion a process of gradual sharing of power and of wealth. Despite significant material improvements in the life of the average Arabian citizen, the hectic pace of development has resulted in a potentially explosive maldistribution of wealth. In addition, the reforms have to include some sort of mechanism to allow popular participation in determining national priorities. Some areas where reform could start can be suggested, though the list is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive.

An important symbolic act, for example, would be to change the country's name. There is no valid reason for a whole nation with a long history to take on the identification of a dynasty. The promulgation of a constitution would also be of great symbolic value. Although there are reports from Saudi Arabia that the Government is currently drafting a "Basic Rules of Government," we have been hearing the same thing since the late 1950s. The sooner a constitution is implemented, the more credit the royal family could claim.

More substantive reforms would curb the flagrant corruption of the royal family and its entourage. The wheeling and dealing by the princes and the abhorrent commissions they receive could be restricted. What right did the son of Crown Prince Fahd have to take a commission of $100 million on the Ericsson-Philips-Canada Bell Telephone contract signed in 1978? Furthermore, the distribution of valuable land to royalty is a major irritant that could be removed. One need only drive on any highway in the country and see signs designating huge tracts of land to the different princes to be reminded of the unnecessary ubiquity of the royal family. Since the Al Saud have unlimited access to the most cash-rich treasury in the world, one wonders about the wisdom of flaunting their rapacious self-enrichment. Granted, the elimination of corruption is next to impossible, but it could be fought sincerely and at least brought under control.

One of the best ways to initiate reform is to allow a freer press. In reading the Saudi press, one gets a better idea of what is going on in the country by looking at the advertisements than from the news articles. Analysis is nonexistent and editorials are boringly repetitive. By relaxing censorship the press could become the best mechanism for genuine, albeit limited, popular participation. The press should be allowed to debate national questions and priorities. This will serve as a gauge of public opinion and create an outlet for mounting frustrations. It is a sad comment on the current freedom of the press in Saudi Arabia that ideas such as I am expressing have to be conveyed through an American forum. Participation through the media is valuable in that it gives a sense of sharing in the determination of national decisions, assuming the Government incorporates some of the ideas offered in the press. Since many of these decisions do not work anyway, the royal family could avoid being used as the only scapegoat for failures.

Two other areas are in need of immediate reform. One is the high rate of growth in the economy which creates social dislocations. A substantial part of the expenditure is on nonessential construction projects that could be discontinued without creating unemployment or sacrificing necessary services. A cutback in growth would also enable the country to get rid of some of the huge foreign labor force that places strains on the social fabric. Unfortunately, the 1980-85 development plan envisages an annual Government expenditure of more than $75 billion, leaving the impression that the high rate of social disruption, waste and an inordinate volume of foreign labor will continue unabated.

The second area is the military. The armed forces and the National Guard should be integrated, and the fomenting of

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rivalry between them stopped for the sake of national unity. Accompanied by reforms in other areas, a unified military would pose no danger to the royal family. Also, military spending is unreasonably high. It should be reduced to cool the overheated economy and eliminate waste. The military would have more than enough money if its budget were reduced to one-third its present level. Since the Saudi military is practically toothless, what reasonable justification is there for budgeting $21 billion in the 1981 fiscal year?

Finally, the issue of oil. The Saudi leadership justifies the present high rate of oil production by concern for the health of the Western economies. But Saudi Arabia's vulnerable international role is the result of the Government's choice to keep oil production high and accumulate huge sums of dollars. The country must scale down its international role and divest itself of excessive responsibilities.

The simplest way to do this is by reducing the level of oil production, which now runs at 10.4 million barrels per day. The Government should, as soon as possible, announce a program for the gradual decrease of output. This could be done over a period of, say, five years with a target of 4 million barrels per day. A five-year transition period would be sufficient to allow the West to devise conservation measures and speed up the development of alternative energy sources. The West has the technology, brains and resources; it lacks only the will. Also, during this period, many Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and non-OPEC countries could (and would) increase their oil output to make up for part of the lost Saudi oil, in particular Iraq, Nigeria, Mexico and, most important, Iran.

A reduction of this magnitude need not cripple the international economic system. And let us not forget that the withdrawal from the world market of 5 million barrels per day during the Iranian revolution did not destroy the world economy. Moreover, if the reduction in Saudi Arabian output is accomplished gradually, coupled with frequent and moderate increases in the price of oil to compensate for inflation, the rest of the world should be able to adjust with minimal difficulty. If the Government makes sure that the price of oil does not fall in real terms, and if reforms are initiated to eliminate waste, the country's essential domestic needs would easily be met. In the unlikely event that they cannot be met, the Government can always liquidate some of its huge foreign investments.

The United States will, of course, oppose any policy of reduced production, but the Saudi leadership must recognize that Arabian interests are different from those of the United States. Friendship with the United States is not in itself undesirable, but Saudi policy must become more neutral and independent. This means that the Saudi oil policy must reflect its own long-term interests rather than accommodating wasteful American consumption. The present system under which Saudi Arabia produces a surfeit of oil for which it receives depreciating dollars is an intolerable burden. Because of the sheer volume of its assets, Saudi Arabia currently finds itself hostage to the dollar market, the only currency capable of handling such large amounts; close to 85 percent of Saudi assets are in U.S. dollars. The accumulation of dollars must stop.

It is also embarrassing for Saudi Arabia to be closely associated with a country that is regarded as pro-Israel. It can safely be said that the Palestine problem is tangential to the interests of the royal family. (Asserting that Saudi Arabia is pro-Palestinian is like declaring the country to be an Islamic state.) Nevertheless, the general resentment against the United States, caused mainly by the issue of oil output, takes on another significant dimension. To break free from the American connection would certainly help dampen the growing criticism of the House of Saud by other Middle Eastern nations.

The policy of "ostrichmanship" vis-à-vis the Soviet bloc should be discontinued and diplomatic relations should be established with these countries, including the Soviet Union. Exaggerated American assertions that the Soviet Union is a danger to the security of Saudi Arabia are plain nonsense, and somewhat two-faced, coming from the only country that has gone on record with threats to invade and occupy Arabian oil fields. The leadership should pursue amicable relations with the West as well as with the East, but should not rely on any single bloc exclusively.

In the Islamic world, Saudi Arabia is clearly qualified to exert some sort of leadership. Such leadership, however, should be a moral one. Money-politics should be restrained; bankrolling different factions in various countries will buy Saudi Arabia as many enemies as friends, if not more. In sum, Arabia, a land that lived on the margin of history until recently, should revert to relative obscurity and assume a less prominent posture internationally and regionally.

The future of Saudi Arabia is uncertain. Should the need for timely reforms be ignored, or should they fail, civil strife is the alternative. In that case all are going to be losers: the royal family, the diverse segments of the population and the Americans. It is frightening to think of the "Rapid Deployment Force," since it is hard to see any purpose for it other than intervention in Saudi Arabia. The survival of the royal family and the continuation of its friendly policy toward the United States will be determined by factors largely internal to Saudi Arabia. The United States is better off advising the royal family to reform before it is too late rather than preparing for military intervention.

The prospect for reform in Saudi Arabia is dim, however. People in power tend to cling to it and only through courageous and enlightened leadership could they start sharing some of their prerogatives. The process of relinquishing power by the European monarchies took centuries. The Saudi monarchy does not have that much time. In fact, it must be accomplished within a short period. It may prove to be impossible. Should that be the case, the outcome could be tragic.

In thinking about reform, one can't help but wonder about the human aspects of change. The Arabians weathered the material poverty of the past with dignity and pride. Yet today's conditions challenge the very integrity of the society. Prosperity—but at what price? □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

A Cali for a New Ethic

MICHAEL HARRINGTON

THE AMERICAN FUTURE: New Visions Beyond Old Frontiers. *By Tom Hayden. South End Press. 280 pp. $15. Paper $6.*

The conventional wisdom these days is that the right has cornered all the new political ideas. In fact, all of them strike me as shopworn, if not ancient—and certainly unworkable. This should become painfully clear to almost everyone after two or three years of ideologically induced misery. The conventional wisdom also holds that the left's idea bank has gone bust, a notion I think is silly and one quickly dispatched by Tom Hayden's important new book on the American future. Though not without flaws, it is in the main serious, well-documented and takes intellectual and political chances.

Even when *The American Future* is not innovative it proves exceedingly useful, particularly when summarizing work done by others. One such is Leslie Nulty's groundbreaking study of four of the structural sources of the present inflation: food, fuel, health and housing. I am appalled by the degree to which some facts and figures that should be obvious to the point of tedium are ignored, not simply by the masses but by left activists as well. I value a restatement of some basic truths.

In some areas, Hayden moves out beyond the conventional left wisdom and makes an excellent case for an immediate, and middle-distance, tactic based on the fight to democratize corporate power. The New Deal, he rightly notes, did nothing about the *internal* structure of corporations; it made the very Adam Smithian assumption that the board room, working on a sophisticated calculus of profit, was the best institution for making most of the fundamental allocation decisions in the society. That, Hayden proves with a wealth of well-argued detail, is simply not the case. Look at what the oil companies have done to create the energy crisis, at the social costs imposed by the Hooker companies of this nation, at the concomitant drop in America's position in the world.

Even more to my liking, Hayden understands that there is no simple "economistic" solution to the crises created by the corporate-dominated interventionist government. There is, he says, a need for a new ethic, even a new morality. At times, the rhetoric gets a little too Calvinist: Hayden consciously seeks a functional equivalent of Weber's "Protestant ethic" and occasionally gets carried away by the analogy. For a while I thought he had stumbled into a no-growth perspective that ignores the unmet needs not simply of Americans, or even of poor Americans, but of the whole Third World. But Hayden makes it clear that he is calling for an increase in *real* living standards and that the point of democratic control is to satisfy those needs, without the wasteful, antisocial inputs of the corporate economy.

This material is the best in the book, but I do have one serious qualification. Hayden disclaims any intention of giving aid and comfort to the rightist myth that Federal spending created the inflationary component of our present situation. However, on at least two occasions, he moves much too far in the direction of that thesis. For example, when he reports that the Federal budget has doubled and tripled he cites current dollars and ignores the fact, documented by card-carrying moderate Charles Schultze in a 1976 Brookings Institution study, that Washington's share of *real* national product has not increased at all over the past generation (and actually decreased from Eisenhower to Johnson). The "sevenfold" (uncorrected for inflation) increase in government intervention since 1960, which Hayden describes, still leaves the United States the least taxed Western nation, with the smallest public sector and the lowest share of publicly controlled G.N.P.

Hayden's foreign policy discussion is provocative and, on the whole, persuasive. I agree that the left cannot seem to be committed to a politically impossible—and politically undesirable—program of unilateral disarmament (unilateral *initiatives* are, of course, something else again). Obviously, we must oppose the draft (which is a fraud in every aspect save one: its capacity to engender cold-war illusions) and remind the American people that this country failed in Iran, not because it had been paralyzed by a dovish "lesson of Vietnam" but for the very same reasons it lost in Vietnam.

My differences in this area—and they might strike some historians of the 1960s left as ironic—have to do with Hayden's analysis of the Soviet Union. He is right to insist that the Russians are not necessarily as reasonable as some doves like to dream. But I think he *over*estimates Soviet power—at one point he even comes perilously close to a Haigian view of a concerted Moscow march to world supremacy—and thereby perhaps *under*estimates some of the dangers posed by that power. I tend to agree with *The Economist*, Harrison Salisbury and others who think the growing contradictions and failures in the Soviet economy are a reason for concern (also the non-Russian majority, which will soon be a population fact in that country). I fear Soviet weakness, or, more precisely, the asymmetry of a first-rate nuclear superpower, a second-rate economy and a repressive and anti-innovative political structure.

But my differences deal not so much with conclusions as with how they are reached. Hayden wisely understands that the left *must* have a defense policy and a national security policy—genuine policies, not the disaster-prone tactics of Washington in recent years. Here, as in the best of his domestic material, he strikes a creative balance between the pragmatic and the ideal. I agree with Hayden on the majority of immediate programmatic issues and, with the notable exception of his Jerry Brown connection, admire much of what he has done in California. But I am taken aback by the treatment of socialism in *The American Future*.

This does not for a moment mean I believe that the mainstream left coalition that must be built in the 1980s will be, or even could be, socialist. If I proudly think that the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee has led our movement from the margins of the society into the main-

Michael Harrington is national chair of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and the author, most recently, of Decade of Decision: The Crisis of the American System *(Simon & Schuster).*

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stream, I do not equate this first step toward political impact with the imminent achievement of national political power. But Hayden's discussion of socialism is based upon a caricature of that ideology—one which, in the embarrassingly thin discussion of Marxism, ignores a rich literature of recent years which has nourished, among others, Tom Hayden. And he seems to have no sense whatsoever that the socialist and trade union *mass* movements of Western Europe not only agree with his critique of the state centralist model of socialism but have come up with some imaginative, and practical, proposals (and even laws) for moving in an utterly new and decentralized direction.

This flaw in Hayden's book is part of an ongoing American tragedy: we have a center and a right, but no anti-capitalist left. I can understand, and even sympathize with, those who want to finesse the question of socialism for pragmatic, power reasons, or to deal with it by means of euphemisms and an occasional wink. Hayden's problem here, I think, is an excessive consistency: not being a socialist, or at least not wanting to take his political stand on that principle, he assumes he must, then, be an antisocialist. Ironically, that assumption helps perpetuate one of the most functional myths of American society: attacks on socialism are designed not to stop an (alas) nonexistent socialist threat but to block liberalism, populism, or, indeed, Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy.

However, I don't want to end on this note of criticism. *The American Future* is right most of the time and serious even when it is wrong. It is a significant contribution to an American left that desperately needs it. Bogus ideas are epidemic on the right. Tom Hayden offers the real article. □

A Wicked World, East and West

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

GORKY PARK. *By Martin Cruz Smith. Random House. 415 pp. $13.95.*

Gypsy in Amber and *Canto for a Gypsy*, two earlier thrillers by Martin Cruz Smith, demonstrated several comparatively rare virtues of this genre, particularly feeling for unusual milieus, in the second of the pair both ecclesiastical and romany. Both were written with grace and humor and without gratuitous violence or sadism. Nonetheless, all that the experienced consumer of this literature could reasonably have expected was a superior series, featuring the exploits of Police Sergeant Isadore. In the best of such series, the curve of inspiration is downward because the hero is a stable character, an old but predictable friend like Nero Wolfe, Ellery Queen, or the even more insufferable Lord Peter Wimsey. All parties—author, hero, readers, even villains—show signs of weariness as routine adventure succeeds routine adventure. The proprietor of the series turns into a *rentier* and the readers into addicts.

Gorky Park is a pleasant, even a stunning surprise, for its author has leaped several literary leagues onward into the company of genuine novelists. Although the murders, mutilations and episodes of minor violence are numerous enough to gratify the cravings even of those fed on contemporary best sellers, *Gorky Park* is only incidentally a murder story. It is a genuinely absorbing picture of certain aspects of Russian and American life, neither automatically anti-Soviet in the style of *Commentary* nor anti-American in the weary manner of the aging New Left.

The message seems to be that it is hard to behave well in a wicked world. The hero, Arkady Renko, is a chief investigator in the office of the Moscow town prosecutor, "a specialist in murder in a country that had little well-organized crime and no talent for finesse." His criminals were "ordinarily drunks first and murderers second, and far better drunks than murderers." Arkady's wife, Zoya, is a humorless, ambitious apparatchik who mouths without first or second thoughts the pieties of the party line and bitterly resents her husband's refusal to attend meetings, play necessary political games and rise in the investigative hierarchy. His father, a dying general a.k.a. the Butcher of the Ukraine, is a gravely flawed hero of the Great Patriotic War and still an influence to conjure with in ruling circles.

Triumphant over both heredity and environment, Arkady is an honest man who strives against the odds for justice even within the confines of Soviet jurisprudence. His faith is tested by the discovery of three mutilated bodies in Gorky Park, around whose identities and activities the plot circles. At the threshold are two questions: should his bureaucratic opponent and personal enemy, Major Pribulda, assume jurisdiction in the name of state security? For that matter, did the good major himself commit or authorize the slaughter in the interests of the K.G.B., the Committee for State Security?

The plot quickly thickens. Arkady encounters and questions Irina Asanova, expelled from her university for antiparty sentiments, blind in one eye as an aftermath of K.G.B. interrogation, threadbare but stylish in a marginal job on the fringes of the film world and defiant as ever. Other characters intervene, notably Arkady's boss, the prosecutor Iamskoy, who turns out to be a K.G.B. plant in the civilian criminal justice apparatus; Osborne, a smooth American dealer in sables with remarkable Soviet connections reaching back to the siege of Leningrad, and Lieutenant Kirwill of Mayor Koch's own police force, an unusually successful evocation of the mingled brutality, lawlessness and professional skill which characterize our men in blue at their very finest.

The solution of the mystery is almost too pat and the ironies too symmetrical. Yet this is a good novel rather than a merely outstanding thriller because Smith has invented some genuinely complicated individuals and placed them in challenging ethical predicaments. Kirwill is in Moscow because he correctly suspects that his younger brother, a radical whom he detests, was one of the Gorky Park bodies. Brought up by radicals, Kirwill knows and hates Communists, and enjoyed his service on the New York Red Squad. Nevertheless, or perhaps all the

Robert Lekachman, a member of The Nation*'s Editorial Board, is Distinguished Professor of Economics, Lehman College, the City University of New York.*

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more, he is grimly determined to avenge his sibling, and willing to cooperate as necessary with Arkady.

For his part, the latter gradually comes to perceive the hopelessness of the search for justice in a corrupt and cynical society. However, partly out of love for Irina, he rejects the chance to defect and voluntarily returns to Moscow from New York, where the vicissitudes of the plot had carried him to a highly uncertain future in the land of destroyed hope and surrendered dreams. Even Major Pribulda turns out to possess a conscience which prevents him from acting as a routine executioner. Arkady's parent, the monstrous general, excoriates his son for his weakness, cowardice and, least forgivable of all, his failure to trade on family reputation to feather his own nest. But he ends the conversation by remarking how good it was to talk—Arkady must visit him again.

Smith does less well with his women, who are types rather than people. Zoya is the model of a good Soviet citizen. Irina, the tormented rebel against Soviet fate, is from beginning to end simply too good to be true—a romantic fantasy of courage and beauty. At the end of the tale, Zoya and Irina act and talk much as they did at its start.

As in his earlier works, Smith's police and security environments are entirely credible. He does not succumb to the temptation of easy equation of the K.G.B. and the F.B.I., of Moscow and New York cops. Although individual Americans match the brutality of individual Russians, and New York policemen and F.B.I. agents are entirely willing to ignore inconvenient legalities, Smith leaves no doubt that conditions are much worse in the Soviet Union. More telephones are tapped and hotel rooms bugged. More illegal arrests are made. More suspects are tortured. Thomas Szasz to the contrary notwithstanding, psychiatric confinement occurs only occasionally as an American mode of punishment. In *Gorky Park*, one of the rare unequivocally evil actors is an official shrink who explains that people who rebel against state and party are ipso facto mentally ill. In short, official violence, far from unique in the land of the partially free, has fortunately achieved far less official sanction than in the Soviet Union, where it is an element of daily life and expectation.

In this novel, the Soviet Union emerges as a dreadful society in which unusual individuals of outstanding courage behave honorably at enormous personal cost. A far less repressive society, the United States is deeply flawed by avarice, corruption, official misconduct and cynical self-promotion. Thus, it is easier to act decently here than in the Soviet Union, but less easy, all the same, than we tend to think in patriotic moments. In the end, Kirwill dies unpleasantly, for reasons which do no credit to a number of Americans. Arkady goes back to Russia, not just for Irina's sake but also because America appalls him.

Gorky Park, I think, passes one of the novel's tougher tests: its major characters will linger in memory for quite a while. All in all, this is a first-class job which should win Martin Cruz Smith unfavorable notices in the security agencies and police departments of both superpowers. □

Demystifying the Breakthroughs

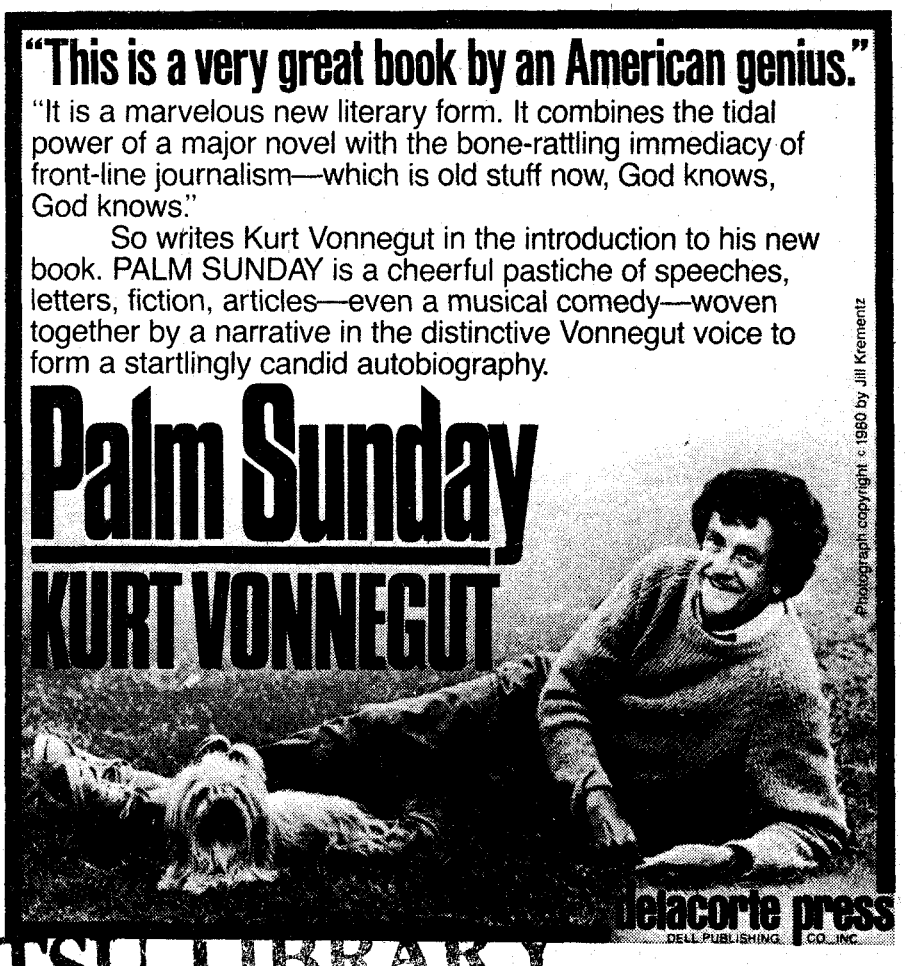
CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

THE TECHNO/PEASANT SURVIVAL MANUAL. *A Print Project Book. Conceived and edited by Colette Dowling. Bantam Books. 314 pp. Paper $8.95.*

In a striking sentence, the authors of this compendium tell the thirsty seeker that "Humankind is at the edge of a new frontier, and you and I, driving to work in our humble Toyotas and humming the latest disco tune on WKCB, are as ignorant of how our universe is changing as fieldhands in the time of Galileo."

Exactly what *is* striking about that? First, the Galileo image, which is pretty good. Then, the "new frontier" opening, which is an awful cliché. Third, the assumption (I wrote this from London, capital of Western underdevelopment) that most people are already at a fair level of command over automobiles, stereos and whatnot. Even if one allows for an element of self-mockery, that

Christopher Hitchens, who is on leave from the New Statesman, *is visiting associate editor of* The Nation.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seems to be revealing—as does the use of "I" by an apparent collective of writers.

This may seem a pedantic approach, but there is a certain amount of unnecessary padding in what purports to be a plain person's guide. Literature has been scaring people for decades with visions of a dehumanized technocracy; sometimes overtly autocratic, but always remote.

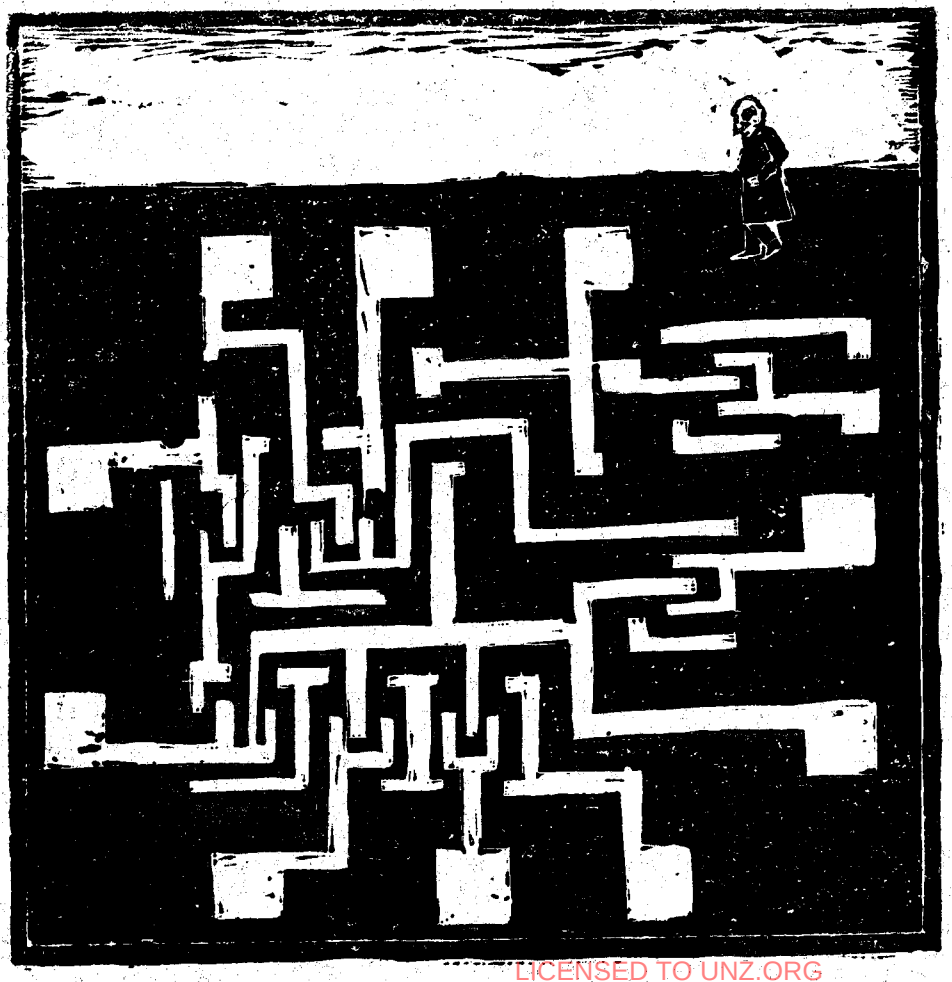
Karel Kapek's robots, Jonathan Swift's Laputa scientists, George Orwell's telescreens, H. G. Wells's futuristic babble: these and many more have prefigured the hellish time when we won't even be exploited by our fellow *creatures* anymore. Even Karl Marx had an occasional thought on the matter. In Volume One of *Capital* he wrote:

> Machinery, considered alone, shortens the hours of labour, but, in the service of capital, lengthens them; in itself it lightens labour, but, when employed by capital, heightens the intensity of labour; in itself it is a victory of man over the forces of nature, but, in the hands of capital makes men the slaves of those forces; in itself it increases the wealth of the producers, but, in the hands of capital, it makes them paupers.

"Machinery," of course, seems a quaint and antique term these days. But you get the point. In their own way, the authors of *The Techno/Peasant Survival Manual* convey the same contradiction. They say, rather tritely, that "there is a dialectic here, between the potential for good and the potential for destruction." Never overlook the obvious.

In fact, this book is at its best when it concentrates on the obvious, and leads the reader step by step. The chapter on the methods and importance of fusion is a model of clarity and condensation. I've shown it to people who know, and they have been impressed. I'm impressed myself, but that's because the authors succeed in showing, not just the meaning of fusion energy but the enormous sweep of horizon which it illuminates.

And talking of flashes on the horizon, the book makes it clear that military hijacking of technology does *not* lead, as its apologists claim, to "spinoff" and innovation. Quite to the contrary, it retards and distorts research work, saps resources and wastes trained scientists. As *TPSM* points out, it took thirteen years to get from a fission explosive device to fission electric power, and still, with explosive fusion dating from 1952, we are decades away from any fusion utility. (Of course, those who think that nuclear power has no application of any kind at all can skip that last paragraph. I'll just mention that fusion *is* rather safer and cleaner than fission.)



The force of the book lies in its ability to simplify, to compress and thereby to "demystify" the awesome breakthroughs of our time. "With the discovery of the chip, computers were brought out of the ivory laboratories of academe (and industry and government) and put into the hands of the techno-peasant." Miniaturization has flattened the learning curve of complex systems, and the thirst for mass production and new outlets has brought a great deal of space-age spinoff within the grasp of the average competent citizen. The idea here is to make people more aware of possibilities, more aware that today's busted circuitry is yesterday's broken stereo. The authors don't always make this plain, though.

They do, however, make it abundantly clear, both in and between the lines, that our present social relations are part of prehistory. Any American or European can and will sneer at Saudi Arabia: its combination of vast wealth and production with a feudal order and a medieval hierarchy. But what of Silicon Valley, with its circuits, microprocessors, chips and semiconductors dominated by the values and priorities of the Rotary Club? The issue, then, becomes control. Nobody but the saddest Utopian can propose that we try and get the toothpaste back in the tube (this metaphor is varied to "get the genie back in the bottle" when writing about Saudi Arabia). The era of rolling innovation and exponential growth is upon us all right, and those countries that do not yet have it—like my own—desire it most urgently.

Noam Chomsky pointed out a decade ago that the age of computers and simulations made possible a huge access of power and information to the electorate and to the skilled producers. Decision making could be brought, quickly and cheaply, within reach of millions of people. No priesthood can co-exist for long with such discoveries as the silicon chip. Monopoly cannot be sustained—even computer crime shows that.

I wish this book had more on that aspect of the problem. The defense industry excepted (because there we *have*

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eded power to a mandarin caste, and et them bring forth monsters like the MX), the age of ultra-technology is not ll that frightening. There will be those who hope for an epoch of pure power nd perfect surveillance, but even they eed to reproduce huge numbers of umerate and skillful people, not all of whom will agree. The chauvinist panic n Silicon Valley when the Japanese began poaching "secrets" is oblique evidence for the view that microelectronics creates opportunities faster than elites.

If I seem to concentrate on perspective, it is because no review could possibly convey the work of miniaturization done by this book. Although occasionally its diagrams (meant to be pedagogic and eye-catching) succeed in being distracting, and although it has some terrible neologisms, it is endlessly absorbing and a real service to democrats. Example: the work is admirably instructive about the wrinkles of Skylab and the space program, giving a historical condensation as well as a thorough updating of the profit and loss. Similarly, it gives a much-needed (by me) rundown on satellite technology and the amazing possibilities of enhanced communication that it brings in its train. Of course, this new frontier may be used for spying and surveillance, or it may be used to bring people closer in touch on an undreamed-of scale.

Reading this section, I was reminded of a Brecht quotation which bears repeating. In 1932 he wrote, in his *Theory of Radio*:

> Radio must be changed from a means of distribution into a means of communication . . . that is to say, it would be such if it were capable not only of transmitting but of receiving, of allowing the listener not only to hear but to speak, and did not isolate him but . . . brought him into contact.
>
> Unrealisable in this social system, realisable in another, these proposals, which are, after all, only the natural consequences of technical development, help towards the propagation and shaping of that *other* system.

A voice from an age of innocence? Not necessarily. The authors of *TPSM* go some way to prove that amateurs and volunteers can still comprehend the system, and even outguess it. Human feedback has not yet been transcended or superseded. So there is no need for them to try and make our flesh creep. We should learn to worry less, and to read more. □

Liberalism and Feminism

THOMAS DEPIETRO

TRUE LOVE AND PERFECT UNION: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society. *By William Leach. Basic Books. 449 pp. $18.*

In the 1960s, a group of leftist historians critical of the cultural radicalism of the New Left organized themselves around the journal *Studies on the Left*, a prototype of the late *Marxist Perspectives*. These intellectuals, among them Eugene Genovese, James Weinstein (who now edits *In These Times*), William Appleman Williams and Christopher Lasch, shared a belief in the failure of the bourgeois reformist tradition in America. Liberal social planning and cultural reform, they argued, often serve to sustain the status quo. Lasch has pointed out that, in our time, so-called radical reforms—the attack on the family or the promotion of socially sanctioned narcissism—coincide with corporate capitalism's need to produce unnecessary commodities and willing consumers.

William Leach's *True Love and Perfect Union* demonstrates that the historiographical tradition of the 1960s represented by Lasch and Genovese has not faltered, that it has spawned a new generation of committed scholars. Leach studied with Lasch at the University of Rochester, where Genovese also teaches. Like them, he informs his work with exhaustive research, careful writing and a commitment to the idea that history is "a way of learning," as Appleman Williams once wrote.

Many have argued that the antinuclear movement and feminism are the emergent areas of protest for the 1980s. If so, feminists and reformers have much to learn from Leach's work. Nineteenth-century feminism, Leach argues, bequeathed to the twentieth century a mixed legacy: on the one hand, feminists frequently provided a democratic socialist critique of society; on the

Thomas DePietro is a member of the English department at the University of Virginia and coordinator of the Southern regional branch of P.E.N.

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other, and more frequently, these feminists failed to confront "ethnic, religious, regional, political, and economic opposition" to their radical critiques of marriage and sexuality. Often limited by the liberal tradition they helped to create, feminists remained committed to possessive individualism, to the idea that if women were allowed to accumulate capital in a healthy, sane and symmetrical society, then all conflict between the sexes would cease. Feminists such as Isabella Beecher Hooker argued that the progressive feature of the marketplace was that it permitted many women to work outside the home. In her rightful quest for economic autonomy, she ignored the fact that the demands of the market, together with "the weight of cultural stereotypes," fixed women in their status as consumers.

The period Leach details, the late nineteenth century, also witnessed the creation of those new marble monuments to capitalism, the department stores. The reformer Jane Croly viewed stores such as Lord & Taylor and B. Altman as symbols of the new domestic freedom for middle-class women. The brilliant entrepreneur, Alexander Stewart, exploited this pretense to democratization under his policy of single pricing. Since only one price was asked for a given item at Stewart's, fashionable goods were, according to his faulty logic, accessible to all.

For many feminists, the reform of the marketplace would not be enough: rather, they sought to improve the quality of their private lives as sexual partners, mothers and healthy individuals. Without a revision of the literal body politic, without an integration of public and private experience, many feminists believed that a symmetrical society with a rational economy remained an impossibility. Reformers like Dr. Mary Putnam Jacobi eschewed political solutions altogether; society instead should encourage preventive hygiene, healthy sexuality and true love. Like most reforms of the private realm, the movement to base human relations on scientific knowledge and to encourage no secrets between the sexes was a double-edged weapon. As Leach writes:

> On the one hand it was intended to free women from entrapment in the private sphere, to harmonize and rationalize the life of both sexes, to bring the private life of women into more open relationship with community life. On the other hand, no secrets removed the barriers between private and public life, exposing the former to direct invasion and control by the latter. In an effort to separate the private life from older forms of control, feminists supported conditions by which new controls might be imposed.

Not surprisingly, Leach argues, feminists were most successful in their reform of private life. Attempts "to demystify the body and to rationalize sexuality" posed no overwhelming threat to the economic status quo. Capitalism then, as now, promoted no single ideol-

TEARS

Tears leave no mark on the soil
or pavement; certainly not in sand
or in any known rain forest.
Never a mark on stone.
You would think that no one in Persepolis
or Ur ever wept.

You would assume that, like Alice,
we would all be swimming, buffeted
in a tide of tears.
But they disappear. Their heat goes.
Yet the globe is salt
With that savor.

The animals want no part in this.
The hare both screams and weeps
at her death, one poet says.
The stag, at death, rolls round drops
down his muzzle; but he is in
Shakespeare's forest.

These cases are mythically rare.
No, it is the human being who persistently
weeps; in some countries, openly, in others, not.
Children who, even when frightened, weep most hopefully;
women, licensed weepers;
men, in secret, or childishly; or nobly.

Could tears not make up a sea of their mass?
It could be salt and wild enough;
it could rouse storms and sink ships,
erode, erode its shores:
tears of rage, of love, of torture,
of loss. Of loss.

Must you see the future
in order to weep? Or the past?
Is that why the animals
refuse to shed tears?
But what of the present, the tears of the present?
The awful relief, like breath

after strangling? The generosity
in the verb *to shed*?
They are a classless possession
yet not to be found in the museum
of even our greatest city.
Sometimes what was human, turns
into an animal, dry-eyed.

Josephine Jacobsen

This poem will be included in Josephine Jacobsen's new collection of poems, The Chinese Insomniacs, *to be published in 1981 by the University of Pennsylvania Press. Jacobsen, author of* The Shade Seller, *was Poetry Consultant at the Library of Congress (1971-73).*

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ogy. Progressive reform, as long as it remained grounded in possessive individualism and Comtian positivism, could easily be accommodated by a burgeoning industrial economy.

It would be a mistake to assume that Leach views nineteenth-century feminism as a fixed ideology subscribed to by all reformers; he imposes no such monolithic view on his research. Rather, his book offers many shades of progressive thought—from Lucinda Chandler's advocacy of women's control over their own bodies to Julia Ward Howe's attack on romantic love. And, fortunately, Leach allows his subjects to speak in their own voices; his research brings to light massive amounts of personal documents (letters and diaries) and public proclamations (books and pamphlets) left behind by many forgotten reformers.

In his final, perhaps most provocative chapter, Leach treats the alliance between feminists and bourgeois reformers under the aegis of the American Social Science Association—the newly formed organization representing a unified world view of progressive thought. According to Leach, "mid-nineteenth-century feminism reflected in all ways the ideological syndrome of the ASSA": both groups heralded the rationalization of the human body as the path to sanity and order.

In many ways, Leach's social scientists prefigured the Progressives of the early twentieth century, analyzed so thoroughly by Lasch in *The New Radicalism in America* (1965). As a matter of fact, Jane Croly, who played a major role in nineteenth-century reform, was the mother of Herbert Croly, the well-known Progressive who, as Lasch notes, valued Presidential friendship over the dictates of his liberal conscience. At his most speculative, Leach suggests the similarities between the two movements: both groups were obsessed with harmonious, well-adjusted health and preventive hygiene; both sought to eradicate class and sex conflicts through social welfare, sex education and community harmony.

The reason for the failure of these reform movements is perhaps the greatest lesson for present-day radicals. Movements committed to possessive individualism avoid genuine alliances with the working class and thus ignore the more basic economic injustices of liberal capitalism. As Leach remarks, the feminist defeats in the professions and in coeducation during the early nineteenth century "made it clear that the feminist allegiance to liberalism had little to offer bourgeois women in way of permanent success." The feminist ideological scheme "of prevention, sanitary balance, and elitist centralization . . . meshed very nicely with an emerging hierarchical corporate capitalist system dominated by men."

Leach's excellent history, rich in detail and documentation, challenges many of the liberal pieties too frequently resuscitated in our time. By now, radicals of all shades should be aware that corporate capitalism is capable of absorbing critiques of itself that do not challenge fundamental economic injustices. Reformers confronting an ever-changing corporate ideology must counter with ever-changing strategies of dissent. Perhaps some feminists will be offended by Leach's questioning of past reformers' motives and his implicit directives for future radical behavior. This would be unfortunate, since William Leach, like his mentor Christopher Lasch, writes from a deep concern for the success of future radical movements. In their work, they document the mistakes of past reformers in the hope that present-day leftists, avoiding those mistakes, will bring about the formation of a truly democratic state. □

THEATER.

STEPHEN HARVEY

Knuckle
Texts

One of the most compelling theatrical events I've witnessed in recent years was the 1978 production at London's National Theater of David Hare's *Plenty*, a play yet to be seen in New York City. On the surface, this work presented the personal history of a morally jaundiced and emotionally shellshocked woman of the upper-middle class, tracing her life from her adolescent idealism as a volunteer in the French Resistance during the war to her anomie-ridden existence as a diplomat's wife in the 1950s and early 1960s. Like so many plays of the two decades since the advent of Osborne, its real subject was no less than the decrepitude of postwar, post-imperial England itself; yet what distinguished *Plenty* from the rest of its breed was the easy amplitude of its satirical scope, plus the chill wit and subterranean rage of Hare's voice.

This is one of the few worthy contemporary plays I can think of that could fill a space as cavernous as the Vivian Beaumont without being overwhelmed by it. That a play as distinctive and potent as this hasn't been mounted there is unfortunate but quite easy to understand all the same. *Plenty* calls for lots of actors and a daunting succession of settings, and any managing director with a bit of sense would quail at a play whose frequent allusions to the Suez crisis and the Festival of Britain might well prove as parochial to his subscribers as its budget would definitely seem heedless to its underwriters. In the breach, the Hudson Guild has done the next best thing by presenting *Knuckle*, a compact cartoon which preceded Hare's vast fresco by a few years. If anything, *Knuckle*'s tone of anger is more vociferously raised here against the genteel venality Hare sees in contemporary English life, but it's packaged within the comfortably familiar form of the pulpy *policier*.

Its hero, Curly Delafield, is a dealer in the armaments trade who returns home to drab, depopulated Guildford,

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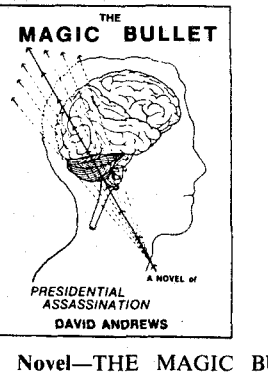

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after years of self-imposed exile, in order to investigate the disappearance and presumed demise of his sister. Implicated in the case are his impassive capitalist father and the missing woman's enigmatic ex-roommate, Jenny, who manages a desolate nightspot called the Shadow of the Moon Club. Father seems more than content to leave well enough alone, and his daughter to whatever fate had in store for her; his Anglo-Saxon sang-froid represents everything Curly had fled England to shake off. Jenny is straight out of the annals of urban-thriller temptresshood. Her main attributes are long legs, ambivalent morals and ambiguous motives, and Curly never can figure out exactly where he stands with her. Much as he scorns the self-contained smugness of Jenny and Delafield Sr., the hero likewise fends off unwanted intimacies —but his armor is the philosophy of butch stoicism epitomized by his literary hero, Mickey Spillane. Poised with weary worldliness in his inevitable battered trench coat, he dutifully spits out nuggets of pithy cynicism in a series of Hare pastiches utterly worthy of the master.

In service to his ideologically engaged creator, Curly also dotes on terse pronouncements of a different nature. As he uncovers an even deeper mystery surrounding a blackmail-spattered real estate scam, Curly rails against a social landscape that thrives on "the making of money, the breaking of man." Worse yet, none of those responsible even feel compelled to justify themselves; "the horror of the world," Curly laments, "is that there are no excuses left." Despite such occasional clinkers, Hare adroitly juggles his agitprop instincts and his parodistic plot.

Unfortunately, *Knuckle*'s freshness is often blunted by a production that flattens its skewed archetypes into straight-faced clichés. Much of the time, Geoffrey Sherman's direction is doggedly literal-minded in a stock whodunit manner, and the play's undertow of menace and flights of lampoon pretty much have to fend for themselves. In the central role, Daniel Gerrold streaks through his lines at such a brisk clip that Curly's cache of self-loathing and general dismay stays latent even after the author has painstakingly brought it to the surface; as Jenny, Fran Brill comes up with a plausibly Anglicized facsimile of Elizabeth Ashley's patented manner and halts there. Only Gwyllum Evans's patriarch, a formidable, granitic ruin, hints at the deeper, funnier possibilities that might have been, if the director's ingenuity had only equaled Hare's.

In the Hudson Guild's last offering, some of the most confident ensemble acting seen anywhere in New York City this season made a rather mechanical piece called *Waiting for the Parade* seem far richer than it actually was. The pendulum may have veered too far in the other direction this time, but this resourceful institution deserves applause for tackling the work of one of the most intriguing, if elusive, young playwrights around.

All too far removed from Hare's Pop-culture satire was the Public Theater's empty gesture toward High Art in its recent staging of Samuel Beckett's *Texts*. Joseph Chaikin, who delivers this solo piece, and Steven Kent, who directed it, have together fabricated a theatrical evening out of two Beckett prose works, *Texts for Nothing* and *How It Is*. The Newman Theater has been transformed into Beckett country—an abstract earthly purgatory of dust-colored ramps and platforms inhabited by a baffled Everyman. What this is not, however, is a Beckett play but rather an unintentionally subversive semblance of one. For all their repetitiveness and apparent inertia, Beckett's stage works attain grandeur by building almost imperceptibly to an epiphany of human impotence and nullity. Lacking Beckett's inexorable dramatic arc, this is simply a stitched-together medley of the same reiterated refrain—an arbitrary tour de force of I-Breathe-Therefore-I-Am Beckettesque shtick.

Texts for Nothing may read like the unfettered voice of human isolation, but Beckett's cries that there's "nothing like breathing your last to put new life in you" sound like fortune cookie sophistries, at least when uttered by Chaikin. Past great productions of Beckett demonstrated that it takes an actor of exalted accomplishments to give life to Beckett's lowly anonymities. For all his achievements in the direction of experimental stage pieces, as a performer Chaikin is a perspicacious amateur. His flabby facial expressions convey only his own limitations and not the stripped-down anguish he means to incarnate. I think the fluty, singsong cadence of his voice is meant to seem childlike, but instead resembles the sound middle-aged entertainers of the Captain Kangaroo school make when they're talking down to children. The demonstrative claque seated at the back of the hall was clearly oblivious to all that, but, as far as I was concerned, *Texts* turned the spirit of Beckett into precisely what its detractors claim it is—an artifact of *démodé* modernism overinflated with gassy gallows whimsy. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

The Postman Always Rings Twice
Return of the Secaucus Seven

Almost fifty years after it was written and thirty-five after John Garfield and Lana Turner tiptoed past the Hays Office with an American screen version (there had been some European adaptations), *The Postman Always Rings Twice* has been made into a film that approximates James M. Cain's melodrama. Jack Nicholson, who has been playing bits and pieces of the role for years, is Frank Chambers; Jessica Lange, celebrated hitherto for sitting so effectively in the paw of King Kong, is his surprisingly formidable sparring partner, Cora Papadakis; John Colicos is Nick Papadakis, the bibulous, cocksure proprietor of the Twin Oaks roadside rest and the bane of Cora's young existence. Bob Rafelson directed the screenplay by David Mamet (author of *American Buffalo* and other plays), and the director of photography is Sven Nykvist, who has done that job for most of Ingmar Bergman's pictures. It was the right crew for Cain's clever book.

Why does this mean, sordid murder story, involving people of meager intellect and limited vision, keep such a hold on its public? In the beginning, of course, its daring sexuality made the book notorious and eagerly sought. But these days, the randiness of Frank and Cora is not uncommonly erotic and yet their miserable history still grabs you.

It does so because Cain knew his business as well as anyone in the murder-for-fornication trade. As the title promises, he delivers his plot in a series of one-two punches that keep you sweating. The odious Nick survives a brain-bashing in the shower, and we

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have no sooner recovered our composure from that bloodletting than a Model A goes over a cliff and the deed is done—with a vengeance, you might say, since Frank emerges from the Ford almost as dead as Nick. Comes the trial and Cora, at least, is about to meet the hangman, but quick as you can say "the wages of sin," Katz, the slick lawyer (Michael Lerner), has reasoned with the insurance fellows and she walks free, as innocent as a jury of her peers can make her. So it goes, two steps forward and one step back, with the circus lady (Anjelica Huston) and the blackmailer (John P. Ryan) putting their spokes in the wheel of Frank and Cora's ill-gotten idyll, up to the very end when, having recovered from the scare of a possible miscarriage, Cora pulls Frank around to kiss her as they bound along the highway—and that's that. I don't much fancy Nemesis as the presiding judge in such affairs, but it must be acknowledged that Frank and Cora are hoist with their own impetuosity, and the frozen image of Cora dead and Frank done for is a memorable fade-out for a pair of lethal losers.

The essential characteristic that this couple shares is a lack of character. They have desires and impulses, which blow them about like trash in the street, but they utterly lack balance wheels to keep them consistent, if not necessarily straight. Thus any feeling between them—lust, rage, disgust, fear, perhaps even love—is true at the moment and only for the moment. It is not easy to play such tumbleweeds, but Nicholson and Lange carry it off; their lightning shifts of mood, as vivid as they are fleeting, sustain the thrills of the teasing plot. You can see that either of them alone would be merely sullen and shiftless; it is the way they carom off each other that spins the mischief. It might be said they drive each other crazy, but Mamet and Rafelson recapture the prevailing insanity of the Depression, when steadiness of gaze was paying no bills and double or nothing was the game in vogue.

How these two play it is also a part of Cain's foxiness and a key to the yarn's longevity. Frank laughs at Nick when the bumptious Greek pats himself on the back for having thought up the new neon tavern sign that Frank had suggested to him. It is Cain's joke on Frank, who fancies himself a sharp and desperate fellow, and never sees that Cora is pulling the strings. She sets him up to rape her, since that's how she likes it. She puts the idea of murder in his head and, when the first try fails, she puts it there again. Cora is as rudderless as Frank, but she rattles about with her eyes open. He is running blind from their first grappling among the loaves of bread on the kitchen table. *The Postman* is hardly *Macbeth*, but the leading ladies have something in common—as Cain may well have planned that they would.

Return of the Secaucus Seven got little attention when it opened in New York City last fall, but since then it has picked up critical applause, awards and audiences elsewhere in the country. Now it is back in town and drawing crowds. Why the picture started so slowly I don't know, perhaps because the young cast is unknown and the director, John Sayles, had made no other film—though he has been successful enough as a novelist and a scriptwriter (most recently of *The Howling*) to finance this one out of his own pocket. Also, the title suggests a "movement" documentary.

In its mood of gentle reflection, its sympathy for young people trying to find their way in a society that offers few leads, *Secaucus Seven* reminds me of *Breaking Away*, but it is the better film (though I liked the other a lot). It is better because it deals with character and personal relationships and is not dependent on a somewhat hackneyed plot. In fact, it has almost no plot at all: a group of young men and women who had hung around together during their college years, been busted by the cops of Secaucus, New Jersey, when on their way to a Washington protest march and had kept in touch in the years after graduation, gather eight years later for a weekend reunion. The events—a volleyball game, a cookout, swimming in an old quarry (see *Breaking Away*), a good deal of beer drinking, a nostalgic run-in with the police—serve as opportunities for sizing up, for confidences, for starting new love affairs and ending old ones. The talk is good enough to sound ad-libbed: it is sharp, defensively tough, sometimes embarrassingly open and occasionally flat, as such talk always is. The group breaks up into twos and threes, which join and dissolve in continually changing combinations. As for relations between the men and the women, it would take a statistician's mind to keep track of who has been, or is now, sleeping with whom.

The variety of personality among the seven is great, but what struck me about them all is that they seemed young for people in their early 30s. I know, the generations that follow you always seem surprisingly young, but the odd thing about this group is that they began to mature much earlier than did my generation and then appear to have got stuck before completing the process. Like hothouse tomatoes (if the comparison is not offensive), they were forced. Or perhaps it is that the times are worse. The years between the Depression and Pearl Harbor seemed hard on beginners, but the Secaucus crowd have had assassination, Vietnam, Bull Connor, Kent State, Watergate and Henry Kissinger to give them their bearings. If they do a good deal of whistling in the dark, it is no wonder. They are witty, generous, cynical but involved. Sayles made *Secaucus Seven* in less than a month for $60,000. You could hardly ask for a better proof that less is more. □

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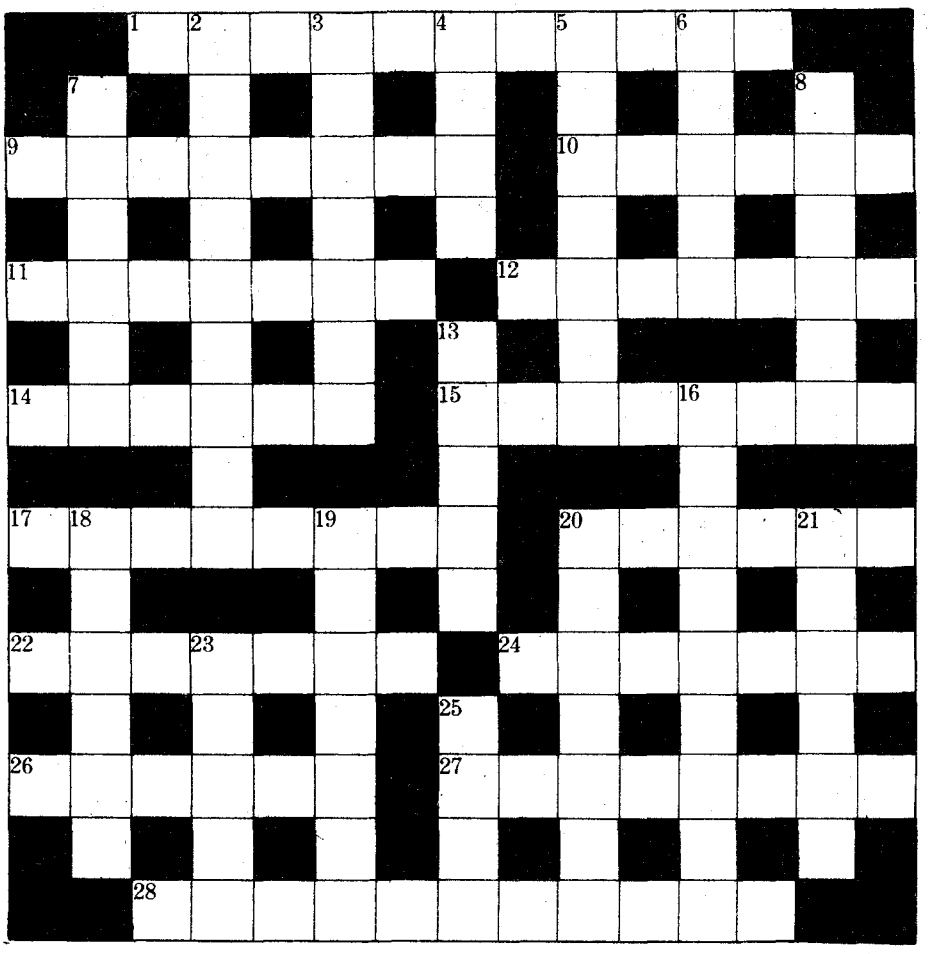
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1861

A	S	S	O	U	N	D	A	S	A	B	E	L	L	■
L	■	K	■	N	■	E	■	C	■	E	■	U	■	E
L	A	Y	E	T	T	E	■	R	A	F	F	L	E	D
F	■	H	■	W	■	P	■	A	■	O	■	L	■	I
O	R	I	G	I	N	■	E	M	I	G	R	A	N	T
R	■	G	■	S	■	O	■	B	■	■	■	B	■	■
T	■	H	A	T	E	F	U	L	■	D	R	Y	U	P
H	■	■	■	E	■	T	■	I	■	I	■	■	■	A
E	G	G	E	D	■	H	A	N	D	S	U	P	■	R
■	■	R	■	■	■	E	■	G	■	A	■	U	■	T
B	E	A	U	N	A	S	H	■	E	P	A	R	C	H
E	■	V	■	A	■	C	■	S	■	P	■	S	■	E
S	W	E	A	T	E	R	■	T	H	E	T	U	R	N
T	■	S	■	A	■	E	■	E	■	A	■	E	■	O
■	S	T	I	L	L	W	A	T	E	R	S	R	U	N

Crossword Puzzle No. 1862

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Things that are indicative of sniffles, sneezes, red noses, etc.—they probably don't create a warm feeling. (4,7)
9 Put two and two together in what might be easily doubled—their pursuit may be irrational. (8)
10 Indicative of a dirty color about the hammerhead in the boat. (6)
11 That exam just before the written June finals? (Such a job for the chief magistrate.) (7)
12 The way not to hit a particle of what was impossible on TV! (7)
14 In part, state the reason for what might lead to the stake, if you want things fast! (6)
15 Go back right after the start of 14—this way, you might be told to pull yourself! (8)
17 Smokey, perhaps, gets qualified—but you shouldn't say you can't stand such things! (8)
20 Does it hold something together from the old school? (3,3)
22 See 2 down
24 It's the same sad mix-up! Fortune might be! (7)
26 Given this to protect you, you probably got a break earlier. (6)
27 Seeing it, you might say "that's just like so-and-so!" (8)
28 Usherette—being a pretty good job in the theater. (7,4)

DOWN

2 and 22 across Certainly not a new kind of gown—possibly associated with a bare display. (3,6,7)
3 The hopelessness of the French couple? (7)
4 This, peculiarly enough, used to be a way of attracting attention! (4)
5 and 6 Bands, perhaps, that suggest the sound of bells at union functions. (7,5)
7 Your friend, the pilot—in a place that's different . . . (6)
8 . . . with a seat like this for the most important resident. (6)
13 High, when it comes to prices; sharp, when it comes to ascent—but that's what some brewers do! (5)
16 It's sort of rude to stare, in a way—and certain to step around what might be highly prized. (9)
18 Provides what is required for a clever remark between two bridge opponents. (6)
19 Anything that has a grade might—and you'll get bawled out. (7)
20 In which one went to the barber, as they once said. (7)
21 Peaceful, but starts in anger, with a less-than nice finish. (6)
23 Is this in a pickle? No, quite the opposite! (5)
25 More than one animal needed for bridge. (4)

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New? What's new about it? Only their haircuts and their polyester suits are new. These fellows have been saying the same thing since Jay Cooke, Jay Gould and J. P. Morgan.

You are referring to some famous businessmen of the nineteenth century, I believe.

That's right. Back when I was starting out we had what Mark Twain called "the Gilded Age." You had to admire those old Robber Barons, though. They stole the country fair and square. None of this public relations snake oil like today. "The public be damned," old William Henry Vanderbilt said. That's what *he* thought about public relations.

Do you mean big business is more public-spirited today?

No. Just more P.R.-minded. When Mobil steals the consumer's dollar, it takes out a long-winded ad saying it is fighting the energy shortage.

What else is different about big business today?

Well, back in the Gilded Age they believed in the survival of the fittest. If you went bust, you didn't run crying to the government for a bail-out. You just went out and stole another streetcar line or formed a new trust.

So Ronald Reagan's New Beginning doesn't impress you very much?

New beginning? I call it the same old soak-the-poor plan for bigger corporate profits. Back then they called it Social Darwinism; now they call it Kemp-Roth. In my day we had John D. Rockefeller. Now we have multinationals. Nothing much has changed. I guess that's why I'm still around. Somebody's got to tell people what to do when they get fed up. That's why we published Robert Sherrill on Big Oil and Mark Green on Cowboy Capitalism and Harry Caudill on the Synfuel Follies and David Noble and Nancy Pfund on Big Business Goes to College. If *you're* getting fed up, just fill out that coupon and subscribe to *The Nation*. I wasn't born yesterday.

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